124 /128 cont'd/
business sense he had now accumulated a considerable amount of
443 property. At Mr. Li's invitation, we went with him to Wen-hua
347 market. This trading center was built only a few years ago, and now it had two streets and several ten's of thatched houses. The traders mostly were natives of the three districts of Wan-ning, Ling-shui,
[346] and Lo-hui. The place appeared deserted. In the middle of the trading center was an elementary school, but as it was now winter vacation, we did not have a chance to inspect it.

437 Just then a Miao arrived at the trading center, bringing rice for barter. We bartered two package of tobacco, a tin tablespoon, and some needles for three sheng of rice (24 liang in a pint). Actually, when we began our reckoning, the value of his goods was greater than that of ours, but he was completely satisfied /129/ for he apparently thought that he had gotten a good bargain. This also brings to light the condition of disparity in value, under which the bartering trade has been carried on between Chinese merchants and the Li and the Miao people.

796 At ten o'clock that evening, just as we were ready to go to bed, we suddenly heard the sound of gongs and drums approaching. On inquiring of the workmen of the Wang family, we learned that in the
● 755 neighboring village the family of a sick man was putting on a t'iao
796 niang /"leaping women"/ service. This was something we did not want to miss, so we went in the dark to watch it. We did not know how far away it was, and all we could do was to go in the direction from which the sound of gongs and drums was coming. On the way we woke up the dogs in the village, and the sounds of barking began everywhere. When we reached the gates of the village, we saw
[201] under the moonlight a cordon of leaves at the entrance, which, according to Li custom, is a sign forbidding outsiders from entering the village. But since we had come such a long distance, we pretended not to see it and went ahead. When we reached the sick man's home, the t'iao niang had just begun. The three or four niang p'o /"old women"/ were all males. In the house hung five bronze gongs and a large drum, and with the disorderly striking of the former and thumping of the latter, a great confusion of noise was created. The

/129 cont'd/

755 796 sick man was lying on the ground, as thin as a stick. When we inquired about his illness, we learned that he was suffering from stomach trouble, probably caused by careless eating. Since the only medicine we had on hand was a box of "Gardon," we gave him a grain to take. We asked three boys to come back with us to fetch more stomach medicine so that the patient could continue taking it. When we reached our lodgings it was one o'clock in the morning.

Second month, twentieth day. (Saturday)

132 137 It was rather chilly when we rose early in the morning, and the thermometer read 58° Fahrenheit. When I first arrived here I was surprised to see only a few solitary coconut palms, which was quite different from the dense growths of coconut palms to be found elsewhere in Hainan. Now I began to understand: because this area is adjacent to the interior part of Hainan Island, it is cut off from outside air by several layers of high mountains, and the temperature here is thus lower, and it is not easy for coconut palm trees to grow big in this climate.

126 764 At eleven o'clock in the morning, we left for Yen-sheng village to watch a burial ceremony. The whole affair, from beginning to end, was filmed with a motion-picture camera by Mr. /130/ Kuang Po-hsiao, as an opportunity of this kind is very hard to come by. The [171] ceremony was in many instances influenced by Chinese customs, traces of which could be seen in such things as paper banners, mourning garments worn by members of the family, stone tablets for tombstones, etc. The whole ceremony took several hours, and it was not until four in the afternoon that the burial was completed.

123 According to the original plans of our party, we were to split into two groups at this place, from which we would pursue different routes for our excursions. At night we discussed our future plans and decided upon a general outline of the work to be done.

/132 cont'd/

755 In the evening we went to watch the Hsiao people in Yen-sheng village perform Tso p'ing an, a ritual asking help of a god because of sickness. The name of the god was Fu Lao Ye. His image was [532] carved on wood and seated in a tiny wooden sedan. During the sacred service, two Taoist priests, who were accompanying the wooden god, performed different duties: one recited incantations, and the other performed a series of acts, representing the god's directions to the sick person. As I watched, I suspected that this kind of practice was undoubtedly introduced by the Chinese; a highly symbolic god could not possible have originated in such a primitive culture as the Hsiao's.

754 During a conversation late at night, Mr. Wang Chao-i described in detail the two ways of carrying out black magic that the Li people use, the chin mu and ta fu t'ou, which were really frightening and hair-raising even for us to listen to.

Second month, twenty-fourth day. (Wednesday)

621 At ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Chiang Ying-liang and Ho Yüan-chiung, we started fro Chih-pao village. We arrived at the place in about an hour. Most of the villagers were out fishing, and only three old men were left to watch the village gate. Headman Teng Te-ch'un, who seemed to be about 60 years old, was refined in appearance. We were told that there were about 30 families with about 300 members, averaging ten members in each family, and that he had two sons and eight grandsons. He probably 163 exaggerated somewhat, but it is undoubtedly true that the birth rate 171 among the Miao is higher than among the Li, and because of their more sanitary habits the death rate is also lower. We found in his 165 home numerous written records; most were such things as pictures of gods, almanacs, and the Taoist canons. Since we had no time 622 to copy them, we only borrowed one copy and brought it back with 217 us. Headman Teng killed chickens to treat us, and we could not resist his hospitality and stayed for the meal. The meal was cleaner and more eatable than one prepared by the Li would have been.

/141 cont'd/
585 be emptied, but luckily, a guest, seeing my predicament, came to
574 my rescue and persuaded the host to let me go. At this moment, I took the opportunity to flee from the house as if I were being released from jail. A few steps outside the village gate, we saw a Hsiao lying at the side of the road, dead drunk and snoring profusely, while another Hsiao, a little more sober, swaying back and forth, walked ahead of us, with a scythe still hanging at his side. Afraid that he might get fresh and start playing with his scythe, we followed him all the way at a reasonable distance. Before long he fell down and lay on the road, upon which sight, we felt much relieved and proceeded on our way. When we arrived at Wen-hua center, we lodged in the primary school there.

Third month, tenth day. (Wednesday)

586 In the morning we strolled to Mao-mien village. Two comely
582 Ch'i girls talked to me for a long time. The girls were not bad-looking, but they had both had an unfortunate fate. When they were small, their parents had given them in marriage to two elderly grey-haired men. When asked whether they were willing to live with their husbands to old age, one gave a resolute "No," and the other replied, "What can I do if I do not like it?" When asked again why they were not living with their husbands, they said that, according to Li custom, a girl, after marriage, /142/ still stays in her mother's home, and until she has found another man and borne a child from this illicit union, she would not go back to live with her husband. As she talked, her manner was natural and frank without a sign of bashfulness.

361 We spent the day visiting four or five small villages in the vicinity, which were all occupied by Ch'i and Li with the surname Huang. The villages ranged from almost only ten or so families to scarcely three or four, and they looked unusually desolate. There were some sick persons in almost every village. There was an old
755 woman in Fan-san-pai village, dying whom her family asked us to cure. When we had no medicine for her, they looked rather

/142 cont'd/
755 disappointed. We were later told by the villagers that ever since this old woman had become sick the year before, several cows and numerous pigs had been slaughtered for the performance of the t'iao niang ritual.

Third month, eleventh day. (Thursday)

008 After breakfast at ten o'clock, a resident of the center, a certain Ch'en, took us to Fu-an village to look around. After walking about two hours we reached the village. This village had been a piece of wasteland before, but after Mr. Wang Chao-i had invited some Li and Hsiao to move here several years ago, it has become a beautiful place, excelling any of the Li villages we have so far visited. In the village there is a school, the Fu-an Primary School. The building and equipment seemed pretty good. The residents of the village looked cleaner than those of other places, and they had very good manners. This was certainly a model Li village. The consequences of education and acculturation clearly could be seen. At this time most of the men and women had gone out to catch fish in a stream near by. We thought we would observe how they fished, and so we went upstream, and in about half an hour, we caught sight of several hundred people crowding on the banks of the narrow stream. A strikingly large variety of fishing gear were displayed during the fishing, and we watched for a long time, fascinated by the scene, before we went back.

At night Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing served a big banquet for us. The food was delicious, more so than any we have had since we came into the Li area.

/143/ Third month, twelfth day. (Friday)

A wedding took place today in Ang-chi village. In the morning Headman Lu sent a man to take us down there, and we stayed in the same little reed hut we occupied last time. It was only a few days
872 since we had been there last, but, when we came this time, we saw

M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805] sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
[782] ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
[755] with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
[787] and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
[527] and singing, shoulder to shoulder.
[534] (18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
[167] Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
M and requested a reduction. The then chu-pu /keeper of records/
648 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
175 calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
CC Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
175 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
563 office." The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge
669 of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at
Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce
the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts,
and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/
to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i
became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble,
and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty
of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.
563
(19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
[346] ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
[167] mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
[782] reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
[648] p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
[669]

/128 cont./ In recent years, Chinese magical practices have been transmitted into the Miao frontier region, and the Miao also believe in the Chinese shen. Hence, today there are two kinds of religion in the Miao region. (1) the Miao religion and (2) the guest religion. (1) Each of

[648]

1. The Miao call the Chinese "guests" and so call the religion transmitted by the Chinese the "guest religion."

these religions has its own sphere and does not conflict with the other in influence, for both are based on animism so they can exist together.

The Miao religion and the guest religion each has its own sorcerer-priests. The Miao sorcerer [pay tɛy ɕioŋ] is commonly called the Miao lao-shih /"teacher"/, and the guest sorcerer [pay tɛy tʂay] called the guest lao-shih.

When the Miao lao-shih performs a minor ritual, for the most part he wears ordinary dress. Only when performing important sacrificial ceremonies, such as Eating Pigs and Bludgeoning the Ox, do they wear caps and long gowns. His paraphernalia include a bowl of beeswax, a hand bell, a bamboo tube, a short double-edged sword, as well as paper banners and a paper parasol. The guest lao-shih wears a spirit /shen/ hat and a spirit long gown when he presides over important rituals. His paraphernalia include an ox horn, a ritual /"teacher's"/ sword, and a willow kerchief. Both the Miao and the guest sorcerer-priests only perform religious ceremonies. For communication with the kuei and shen, for instance to find out, in case of sickness, which kuei is causing the trouble, /129/ and then they have in addition a woman or man magician /lit. "fairies"/ who can travel to the yin world to find out. In addition, there are diviners to find out about good and ill fortune in affairs. To calculate the day of getting sick and to select the date for sacrifice to the kuei, there are the date setters. Except for the Miao lao-shih, the rest of the above-

1 [For an extended discussion of the "guest religion", see category 116, pp 237-297- ANALYST]

/129 cont./

*782 Although the routine sacrifice is not held for any particular reason, its object is nevertheless the avoidance of calamities and the seeking of blessings. The "Sacrifice to the Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" of the Miao religion and the "Local Divinity [177] of the Soil" and the "Flying Mountain" ceremonies of the guest religion are all for the purpose of beseeching the kuei not to make trouble and seeking their protection. The special sacrifices for the avoidance of calamities may be divided into [755] four categories: (1) for seeking a cure upon suffering illness; [783] (2) for seeking cleansing after seeing a supernatural phenomenon [777] or after any unlucky matter; (3) for seeking the resolution of a conflict that has arisen; (4) for seeking pardon for sins after [783] death. Those sacrifices for the invocation of blessings may be [556] divided into two categories: (1) to ask for wealth; (2) to ask [842] for children. But there are many ceremonies which on one hand are to avoid calamities, and /130/ at the same time are also ones which seek blessings. "Bludgeoning the Ox" of the [755] Miao religion can be performed both for the cure of sickness [842] and can also be performed to ask for children. "Redeeming a [177] Vow to the No" of the guest religion may be performed for the cure of illness or to ask for wealth or children, or can be performed for all of these .

Among the 16 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the Miao religion that we were able to investigate, the "Sacrifice" [755] to the "Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" are routine sacrifices; "Ta Chia Hsien," "Redeeming the Soul," "Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples," and "Bludgeoning the Ox" are for seeking cures for sickness; the "Ta Kan Lo," "Sending Away the Supernatural Forces of the Old Tree," "washing the cat," and "washing the house" are for seeking cleansing after seeing a strange [783] phenomenon or something unlucky; "Eating Blood" is for seek- [777] ing resolution of a conflict that has arisen; and "Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering" is for asking forgiveness of a dead person's sins. All the above, except for "Bludgeoning the Ox," which asks for a son at the same time, are ceremonies [842] performed for the avoidance of calamities.

/137 cont./
*782 tray is put beside the entrance. The incantation, uttered by the sorcerer-priest sends off the kuei.

(3) Ta Chia Hsien

•755 When a Miao becomes ill and taking medicine does not
*782 make him better, then he must make a vow to "ta chia hsien"/lit. "beat the family ancestors"/, which in the Miao language is called [pas mbaˈ ɕioŋ˧], which means "beating Miao pigs." It may be performed during the illness or after the recovery. Before the event takes place, the host must serve notice to members of the
[602] mother's brother's family, inviting them to send seven members of the maternal uncle's family (six men and a woman) to be guests. If that family does not have so many people, the maternal uncle may ask other people to make up the number. But the persons invited should not have the same surname as the host. No day needs to be selected as lucky, but the following days must be
[777] avoided: if a child is born in the family, it is necessary to wait one month before the ceremony is performed; the birth of kittens also necessitates one month's separation; the birth of pigs, goats, cows, horses, and dogs causes a postponement of 12 days; the hatching of chicks, ducklings, and goslings, three days; a funeral in the family or when the head of the family has witnessed a funeral of another family, 12 days. If the notice should arrive before the time of expiration of any of the above periods, the maternal uncle's family may refuse such an invitation. If the host because he seeks an immediate recovery from a sickness cannot wait any longer, he may invite other guests, but they may not have the same surname as he.

/138/ The Ta Chia Hsien ceremony is divided into four parts, requiring a whole day from morning till night. There
[776] are altogether eight kuei invited: [nɑŋ˧ nɛʌ˧ tsoŋ˥ teŋ˧], [nɑŋ˧ mas˧ buˈ ɲieŋ˧], [tsoŋ˥ teŋ˥ tsoŋ˥ ɲieŋ˧], [buˈ ɲieŋ˧ tsei˥ nɛʌ˧], (it is said that these four are the ordinary names for the kuei of

/138 cont./

●755 *782 [774 the ancestors). [bu˧ naŋ˧ tsoŋ˥ lie˨˩], [a˧ naŋ˧ tsoŋ˥ kaɤ˨˩], (this is the oldest ancestral kuei); [tsoŋ˥ meŋ˧ tʻɛ˧ ɕio˨˩], [tsoŋ˥ toŋ˥ tʻɛ˧ lie˨˩], (these are the kuei names of the seven invited guests). The place is beside the fire pit inside the house. The Miao sorcerer-priest sits on a low stool behind the fire pit, facing the entrance. In front of him is a bamboo tube and a bowl of wax. In front of the fire pit is set up a square table, on which are placed ten square pieces of fancy /flower/ paper divided in two rows. On each square of paper in the back row is placed a bowl of wine, and behind the back row are stuck up four paper kuei. In the two far corners of the table are stuck up two paper flags. Two chickens are tied to the legs of the table with fine cord through their beaks. Two pigs with their feet tied up with rope are placed in front of the chickens, heads facing the stove. To the right of the Miao sorcerer-priest, on the floor, there is a bamboo mat, on which is a /cooked/ rice bucket /Illus. 62 appears here/ /139/ with the lid off, and a bit in front is a jar, in which is put a piece of fancy paper with a bowl of wine on it. In front of the mat to the right of the fire pit is a winnowing basket. Above it three pieces of bamboo form a semicircular top, on the outside of which paper is pasted, and then cloth. Inside are stuck three paper kuei, in the middle four pieces of fancy paper, and on each of the two pieces of paper in the rear is placed a bowl of wine, see Illus. 62.

For the first part, which concerns inviting the shen, the Miao sorcerer sits on the stool, without using any of his magic implements, and only uttering an incantation, whose general purport is as follows:

"All you older and younger relatives of the host!

The host has recently run into bad luck. When he walked on the road, he saw strange happenings among the grass and trees. When he ate, there were inexplicable fragments and pieces of a broken saucepan in his rice. When the host looked quickly, then he saw these strange phenomena. The (here the name of the ancestral kuei of the family is mentioned) kuei, wanting food to eat, first came and did these things, then made the host fall sick. The host, not getting well, made a vow, and after this, his sickness left him.

/139 cont./

755 *1782 The vow has extricated him from the clutches of the kuei, and the sickness has not come back, but is forever uprooted. The host has saved money and bought a fat pig from the market as well as paper money. Having waited for the passing of the days to be avoided, then he comes to the sacrifice to the kuei. Sorcerer-priests are very few in this world, and he came to my home to invoke my help. So, here I am. I ask all the kuei to come here. I burn a bowl of beeswax. The bamboo tube and the bell are beside the fire pit. The two winnowing baskets filled with meat, the gold and silver cans, the gold and silver chair cushions, all are set at the sides of the pit. The table for the sacrifice to the kuei, the paper money for the redemption of the soul, the fancy /flower/ bowl to hold the wine, the fat pigs, big and small, two large chickens--these

[352] [353] [516] [415]

Illus. 62. Ta Chia Hsien

/139 cont./

755 782 [774] are all placed beside the table. We request the kuei to come to take them. And after taking them, please eat quickly." (He utters the name of the ancestral kuei of the family.)

The second part consists of beating the bamboo tube. While beating the bamboo tube, the Miao sorcerer utters an incantation, generally describing many supernatural phenomena, such as the mischievous behavior of the 12 large trees; strange happenings after eating fish, meat, bamboo shoots, and smoking tobacco; strange happenings with the water at the time of using water, in a bath or sitting in a boat; strange happenings with clothes; strange happenings with ants and snails; with wooden rods and bamboo poles, etc.

The third part is the handing over of the animals. After the incantation for the second part is finished, there is a short respite. The Miao sorcerer then picks up the bamboo tube and the bowl of beeswax is moved onto the table. Afterward he asks a man and a woman from among the seven guests from the maternal uncle's family to sit opposite each other, the man inside next to the bamboo mat facing outward, the woman outside next to the winnowing basket facing inward. The rest of the five men sit at the table on a bench next to the fire pit, without making a movement. The Miao sorcerer, holding a bamboo chiao in his right hand and ringing the hand bell with his left, begins once more to utter an incantation:

/140/ "The wine for ta chia hsien is now ready. There are altogether seven empty wine bowls, two beside the fire pit and five beside the entrance. Please come and take them! After taking them, please do not drink right away. As for the pigs and chickens, if not sent they will not arrive. Once we send them they will arrive. I invoke my patron saint's soldiers and horses; I order my own 1,000 men and 10,000 horses to help deliver the large pig, to help send the small pig and the two chickens. The chickens are sent to the coop, the small pig is sent to the pig sty, and the large pig is sent to the tower."

/140 cont./

755 *782 789 At this point the sorcerer-priest makes the gesture of forcibly sending off the pig. While sending off the pig he says three phrases of a magic formula in a low tone. The bystanders can only see his lips moving but cannot hear anything. According to the Miao sorcerer, at the time his teacher taught him this formula, he repeatedly warned him that after that day he must not teach it to any insincere disciple and must not teach them indiscriminatingly to anyone, or else, the person who teaches it may lose his life or his methods would not be effective. After having finished the three phrases of the magic formula to send off the pig, once more in a loud voice he intones:

755 *782

> "Helpers take the wooden rod and hit the pig in the chest and kill it. Roast it with fire and wash it with water! Do it quickly! The kuei have been waiting here for fully half a day already."

After the incantation is over, the host and the helpers kill the animal with the rod and carry it inside the house. They roast it over the fire, then wash it with water, lay bare the stomach, and cut the pig into two halves: one half is taken by the host, with one leg cut off for the sorcerer-priest, and the other half is received by the seven guests. The other pig is similarly distributed, but after the host's share is put aside, the guests' share is cut into small chunks, and seven bowls are filled with meat. Two bowls are placed on fancy paper in the winnowing basket, and five bowls, on fancy paper at the table. Then, a few other chunks of meat are put into a tin can on the mat. After the meat has been set up, each person returns to his original seat.

The fourth part is to send the kuei away. The sorcerer-priest, ringing the hand bell with his left hand and holding the chiao with his right hand, utters an incantation to the following effect:

> "The pork has been cooked in the saucepan. Seven fine bowls of meat and seven fine bowls of wine have been placed beside the stove. Another ten bowls of meat have been put beside the entrance. This sorcerer-priest takes this wine and meat and offers them to the ancestral kuei. So, please receive them."

/140 cont./

755 *782 [787] After the incantation, divination with chiao is performed for every member of the family. Next, divination is performed to see whether the kuei have gone. If the kuei have gone, then the guests taste a little of the pork, and then return home, carrying with them their share of the meat. At this time the sorcerer-priest and the host both cannot eat the pork. The sorcerer-priest has to collect all the paper kuei, paper flags, and paper money, and burn them up on the main road. Meanwhile, the host kills the two chickens and cooks them, and waits for the sorcerer-priest to come back so that they may eat it together.

/141/ (4) Bludgeoning the Ox.

755 *782 842 [787] [776] [231] Bludgeoning the Ox is called in the Miao language /kuey yiei/, meaning the "kuei of the water buffalo," and is the greatest of all Miao sacrificial rites. When a Miao is seriously ill and it is found through divination that the kuei of the water buffalo is causing the trouble, or when a person is childless by middle age and it is divined that the water buffalo kuei is preventing the Queen of the Nether World at South Heaven Gate to send forth a child, a Miao sorcerer is invited to the house to burn beeswax, to beat gong and drum, and to make a great vow to bludgeon an ox. After the vow is made, if the sickness has been cured or the son sought is born, it is then believed that the kuei of the ox has bestowed it. Then, it becomes necessary to make *782 preparations to fulfill the vow to bludgeon an ox. The selection of the water buffalo to buy is most important. It is necessary to select a water buffalo with the four quarters having four spirals /?/ and the ears, eyes, mouth, nose, horns, and hoofs must be right and complete. Sometimes it is very difficult to buy such an animal, and when found, the price is always prohibitive. If the host succeeds in buying a water buffalo at the market, then someone is sent home ahead to carry the news, so that the members of the family can prepare gongs and drums to meet the ox halfway. When the ox is led into the house, the gongs and drums stop, and

/143 cont./

*782 and the left and right forelegs to the "third- and fourth-leg-bearing" relatives. The breast portion goes to the sorcerer-priest.

In the morning of the third day, the sorcerer-priest once more performs his ritual in the main house. At the same time the guests are leaving. Besides the "leg-bearing" relatives, who each [574] receives a leg, the other friends and relatives all get portions of the beef from six liang to half a chin, sometimes as much as two chin, depending upon the degree of intimacy they have with the host.

(5) Redeeming the Soul

•755 Should a person fall ill while at the market or any other *782 place through drinking well water or river water, the Miao con- 774 sider this to be his losing his soul. Then they ask a sorcerer- [753] priest to come to redeem the soul. In Miao this is called /lioꞌ [776] kueiꞌ/, originally meaning "kueiꞌ of springs." The two kueiꞌ invoked are called /naŋꞌ ntɑ lioꞌ uɨ/ and /naŋꞌ mɑd lioꞌ teɨ/. The time is in broad daylight, the place in front of the main entrance or any vacant ground. A table is set up on the ground, on which are laid five bowls of wine, five bowls of meat, three sticks of incense. The Miao sorcerer uses only a pair of chiao-tzu and utters an incantation which in general states:

> "Some time ago the host drank water at a well. Perhaps his soul was caught by the duke or the old lady of the well, with the result that he has become sick. There are pains in his hands and feet, making his movements up and down very difficult. Each time he sees a stone staircase, his heart flutters. Now we come with wine and meat to redeem his soul, with silver and gold to redeem his soul. Pray, release his soul quickly so that he can have an early recovery."

Although the Miao sorcerer holds the chiao-tzu in his hands he does not divine with them. After the incantation he burns the paper to send off the kueiꞌ.

/143 cont./

(6) Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples

When a Miao, whether a man or a woman, gets a pimple on his foot or leg which does not heal for a long time, it is considered that the /nɑŋ˧ ɳuei˥ pi˨nu˧/ and /nɑŋ˧ nu˧ pi˨ ʂɛ˥/ are causing it. Then it is necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to sacrifice to the kuei during the daytime in the main house, with five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, /144/ and three slender sticks of incense. In the Miao language this is called /pɑ˨ pi˨ nu˧/. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao-tzu in the right hand, and the words of the incantation he utters merely implores the kuei to bring about recovery.

In divination with chiao-tzu the yang chiao and yin chiao indicate misfortune; the sheng chiao indicates good fortune. If it turns up yang or yin chiao, it is necessary to repeat the incantation and divine again. As soon as the sheng chiao turns up, the paper can be burned to send away the kuei.

(7) Ta Kan Lo

Ta Kan Lo is called /ta˧ kʻio˥ tʻɑ˨ lie˧/ in the Miao language. When a Miao at home happens to have a rat urinate on him, or a hen suddenly crows or produces a soft-shelled egg; or when on going out he sees uphill two snakes together; or when walking a bird urinates on his head, these various phenomena encountered are all regarded as bad omens by the Miao. Then they ask for a diviner's calculation, without telling directly about the strange occurrence that has been witnessed. If what the diviner finds out corresponds with what one has seen, then the sorcerer-priest must be asked to perform Ta Kan Lo /Beating the Kan-lo/. Each performance, not counting preparation, takes about half a day, from early morning till noon. The ceremony is divided into four parts as follows:

/156 cont./

243 *782 have come with soldiers and horses, and have prepared the wax and the bamboo tube, and have spread out wine, meat, and rice as well as the paper money, and request the kuei to come to receive them."

[788] At this point the sorcerer-priest stands up, picks up the bell and the chiao, and then resumes his seat, ringing the bell with his left hand, holding the chiao in his right hand, and continuing the incantation:

"Now we come to sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains with good wine, good meat, and cooked large-grain rice, and a lot of paper money, and ask the kuei to receive them. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest! When the weather gets warm, when the hundred flowers blossom, and when the birds begin to sing, when we sow the five grains, may the sprouting grain be green and luxuriant, and by the fifth and sixth month may they form ears, without being eaten by locusts. May the harvest of the five grains in the ninth and the tenth month be abundant. We ask the kuei to finish up the wine and meat, gather the paper money, and go back. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest, and the six kinds of domestic animals increase!"

[787] While he is uttering the incantation, at the same time he divines with the chiao, first for the five grains, then for the six domestic animals. The yang chiao and the sheng chiao are auspicious. The yin chiao is a bad omen. After the divination is over, paper is burned to send off the kuei.

*782 [846] [755] Again, when a Miao woman has given birth or someone has a stomach-ache, they also sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains. The kuei invoked and the layout for the ritual are the same as above. The text of the incantation then requests the kuei of the five grains to protect the baby or to cause the person's stomach-ache to stop.

/160 cont./

*782 [776] [753] [755] soil, the people have to sacrifice to this shen to seek protection for all the villagers. It is said that this shen[1] is very malignant and can cause people to become sick, but when offered sacrifices it can also bring quick recovery.

Five cups of wine and four piles of money are placed on the ground before the shrine. Inside the shrine three sticks of incense are stuck in an incense burner as well as a pair of candles. Another stick of incense is stuck into the ground behind the priest. Also four strings of money are hung upside down on a slender bamboo pole which is placed crosswise in the shrine. The sorcerer-priest wears ordinary clothes and holds the ritual knife and chiao-tzu, first uttering an incantation [787] and divining with the chiao-tzu, then pouring the wine and stating the reasons. He also asks the shen to receive the sacrificial things, and then there is a recess. After this, he takes a small winnowing basket, in which are four piles of beef or pork and a bowl of salted pepper soup, and lays it down before the wine cups. The sorcerer-priest then utters an incantation, requesting the shen to come to enjoy the sacrifice. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and the bystanders eat a little of the wine and meat. Then an additional four bowls of cooked rice, each with a pair of chopsticks stuck in, are offered up. The sorcerer again utters an incantation and [787] performs divination for every family in the village in turn. After this, he burns paper and sends off the shen, and all eat the wine and meat.

(3) Sacrifice to T'ien Wang

*782 784 [776] In the Miao area, before the Hsiao-shu period /a solar period, about July 7-21/, the two days, chen and szu, are days of prohibition when they sacrifice to T'ien Wang /Heaven King"/, also known as the White Emperor T'ien Wang /i.e., White Emperor Heaven King/. On these days butchering and wine selling, fishing, hunting, mourning, or making merry

1 [i.e. Shen of the Flying Mountain shrine - ANALYST]

/160 cont./

*782 are all forbidden. After the prohibitions are lifted and the sacri-
[784] ficial beasts presented, normal life may be resumed. The Miao
[776] are very much in awe of this shen. If one has drunk blood and
[627] taken an oath in a T'ien Wang temple, one would not dare to
[778] repudiate it. There are many T'ien Wang temples in the Miao area, the largest of which is at Ya-ch'i, Kan-ch'eng (Illus. 69), which is regarded by the Miao as holy ground. A Miao village without a T'ien Wang temple sometimes may request the T'ien
[627] Wang to come to the village to decide a case. He may also be asked to go on an inspection tour, as in Illus. 70, showing the T'ien Wang of Hsin-chai, Feng-huang, who was asked to go to another village to decide a case.

Besides the two days of sacrifice to T'ien Wang before the Hsiao-shu period, the Miao may also write complaints, secret accusations, etc., and make vows to T'ien Wang at other
[731] times in the event of danger, such as the ravages of soldiers and
[755] rebels, serious illness, or losing a lawsuit. A table is set up in
[691] an empty room, and on it are placed five teacups and a piece of tile. Chaff and beeswax as well as paper money are burned. The suppliant kowtows and makes a vow, and invokes the protection of the shen. In the vow he promises a pig or a goat, or both, or /Illus. 69 and 70 on pp. 161, 162/ /163/ an ox, depending upon the seriousness of his problem and his financial condition. A sorcerer-priest is also asked to come to the house to make the vow if the purpose is important. The table set at the
[691] time of making the vow is not removed until the time the vow is
[731] fulfilled. If the case is won, or the patient recovers, or no distress
[755] is caused in time of war, the vow must be fulfilled. The things promised may be increased but not decreased. Even if the results shown are not as expected, still the vow must be fulfilled, but in this case the things promised may be reduced.

773 What shen after all is this White Emperor T'ien Wang?
776 Stories vary. According to Miao Fang-pei Lan, Volume 22, there are three stories. The first was about the three sons of T'ien-chiang of the Han period; the second was about the three sons of the Bamboo King; and the third story was about the three brothers of

/169 cont./

(9) The Kuei of the High Slope

*782 [731] [776] [691] This shen is very fierce. They sacrifice to him for the prevention of great dangers, such as litigation and the menace of bandits. His protection must be sought in advance. The ritual is performed during the day on a hillside. Oil, salt, a knife, bowls, a pan, a slicer /ch'an/, and cooking utensils are brought along. They use seven flags, seven flag spears (made of bamboo, one end of which is slit in two, one half being bent into a triangular shape), seven stacks of paper money, one sheng of uncooked rice, in which is stuck incense and candles, a knife, seven piles of mi-pa, seven bowls of wine, one bowl of salted pepper soup, one bowl of chicken meat, and one bowl of cooked rice, in which chopsticks are inserted. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters the incantation to invoke the shen. After the incantation, *[787] he divines with the chiao-tzu, and if he finds that the shen has descended, he pours the wine and states the reason for the sacrifice, and asks him to accept the offerings. A recess follows. At this point the host kills the chicken, cooks it, and puts it in a bowl. At the same time he hands up a bowl of cooked rice /170/ and a bowl of salted pepper soup. Holding the chiao-tzu, *[787] the sorcerer-priest again utters an incantation and divines with the chiao-tzu to see if the shen has agreed to give protection or not. After this, he burns the paper and flags and streamers to send the shen away. When the affair is over the chicken is cut up and eaten on the spot.

(10) The Kuei of Those of the Five Surnames Who Died of Injuries

[551] [776] [755] The five surnames of the Miao are Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. It is said that those who die of injuries become evil kuei. The Miao sacrifice to them to seek protection in case of sickness or of seeing something strange. They use a winnowing

/171 cont./
*782 once more divines with the chiao-tzu, and if the shen has con-
*[787] sented to offer protection, the paper is burned to send him away.

(12) Expelling the Five Kuei

●[755 776] When the Miao seek for speedy recovery from an illness, or when they run up against trouble from kuei and seek to make them go away quickly, then they sacrifice to the "Five Kuei." The Five Kuei are evil kuei, consequently the ritual is called Expelling the Five Kuei. It is performed in the daytime by means of a winnowing basket placed to the right of the main door inside the main house. In the basket are put five piles of mi-pa, five bowls of wine, a piece of tao-t'ou /jack beans?/, a bowl of water, several coins, and five stacks of paper money. There is also a sheng container of uncooked rice, in which are stuck three sticks of incense. Five eggs, each with eyes, nose, and mouth painted on, are also placed in the sheng. A cock is also placed in the basket. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes, holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and shaking the ritual knife with his left, sits opposite the winnowing basket. He utters
*782 the incantation to invoke the shen, and at the same time divines
*787 with the chiao-tzu to find out whether the shen have descended. If so, he pours the wine and states the reason for the occasion. /172/ After further divination he threads a string through the nose of the cock and asks a helper to walk around the house once with the cock. At the same time he recites an incantation to expel the kuei. Then he divines again, and if he finds that the kuei are gone, he asks the helper to come with him, leading the cock and carrying the winnowing basket, to an intersection where three roads meet in the open. There he burns the paper
*782 to send the kuei away. After the performance is over the sorcerer-priest puts the cock, eggs, and mi-pa into a cloth bag that he has brought along. He either returns home or goes to the host's house to eat a meal. But his bag has to be hung outside the house and not taken inside the host's house. The

/172 cont./
782 wine bowl, water bowl, and other things have to be thoroughly washed before they can be taken into the house.

(13) The White Tiger

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "Five Kuei," except no eggs are used for sacrifice.

(14) Expelling Evil Influences

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "White Tiger."

(15) Expelling the Kuei of Quarrels

[755] [578] [776] In the event of sickness or of encountering a kuei's mischief, or a quarrel with someone, a sorcerer-priest is asked to come to the house to expel the kuei of quarrels. If one inadvertently walks into a house where this performance is going on, as soon as he becomes aware of this, he also has to hold a performance to expel the kuei of quarrels. When a Chinese runs into this situation, he does not have to avoid it. Therefore, when a Miao happens to go to the house of someone whom he does not know well, he must first ask before entering: "Is it all right to come in?" He must wait for the reply, "It is all right to come in," before he enters. This is not so much to get permission from the master of the house, as that he is afraid of running into an untoward situation whereby he will have to spend money for the kuei, and so he is doubly careful.

[171] [576] [609]

For the ritual for expelling the kuei of quarrels, they spread out rice straw under the eaves outside the house during the daytime. On the straw are set up five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, with the middle pile having three sticks of

/172 cont./

*782 incense stuck in. Fifteen paper flags of three different kinds are placed in five groups, with one from each kind. The ritual is divided into three parts. In the first part the sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and the ritual knife in his left, utters the incantation to in-
*[787] voke the shen and divines with the chiao-tzu. He pours the wine and asks the shen to accept the sacrificial things, and states the reason for the occasion. /173/ Then the sorcerer-priest rests awhile. The host cooks beef, cuts it into small pieces, and distributes them in five piles on the straw. There is also a bowl of salted pepper soup.

During the second part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest stands where he was before and utters an incantation, asking the shen to eat the meat and mi-pa. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and his helper eat the sacrificial meat offered to the shen, but this time the host may not eat. If the sorcerer-priest and the helper cannot consume all of the five piles of beef, what is left will be left where it is. Now the sorcerer-priest takes a rest, and the host may then eat the left-over meat. After eating, he puts out five bowls of cooked rice, into each of which are stuck a pair of chopsticks, and five more piles of beef.

During the third part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest utters a prayer, asking for the protection of the shen, saying: "Now that the shen has partaken of the wine and meat, he naturally will respond to the request of the host." After the prayer is over, the host's friends and relatives in the village are invited to come to the home, and they remain until the sorcerer-priest burns paper to send the shen away. If any of the friends or relatives know of
[578] the event but do not come, then later they cannot go to visit the house, for fear that the kuei of quarrels will follow them. If one member of a family goes, the rest of the family will be safe from this kuei.

[921] (16) The Wind Kuei
[774]
[755] If a Miao has suffered a long illness without getting better, it is necessary to sacrifice to the wind kuei. This sacrifice takes

/173 cont./

*782 place on a mountain slope at an intersection of paths where there is wind. For this ritual the articles required are a cock, a sheng of uncooked rice on which some coins are placed and three sticks of incense, stuck in, a bowl of tao-t'ou /jack beans?/ on which there is a little salt and a pair of chopsticks, five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, and five stacks of paper money. Except for the cock, all articles are in a winnowing basket. A knife and a pot also have to be brought up there beforehand. The sorcerer-priest waving the ritual knife in his left hand and holding the chiao-tzu in his right, utters an incantation, divines with *[787] the chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the sacrifice. The helper kills the chicken, cooks it, fills the bowl with the meat, and puts it in the winnowing basket. At the same time he puts out a bowl of cooked rice, in which are stuck five pairs of chopsticks. The sorcerer utters an incantation and burns paper to send off the shen. He and the helper eat the items offered in sacrifice right there.

(17) The Tea Shen

[776] For eye trouble the Miao seek a cure by sacrificing to the tea shen. There are three kinds of sacrifice according to the time at which it takes place. If it takes place in the early morning, it is called the Early Tea Shen. At noon it is called the Day Tea Shen. At night it is called the Night Tea Shen. At the [776] time of sacrifice one must not laugh, because it is said that this [82] shen is shy. It is also said that he wears tattered old clothes. If anyone laughs /174/ he will not come. Therefore, if it takes place in the daytime outside the house, the winnowing basket must be enclosed by a bamboo screen. Except for the helper, no outsider is allowed to watch. When the performance takes place at night inside the house, all lights must be extinguished.

For the ritual for the Early Tea Shen a thin stick of wood, burnt at one end to be a stick of incense, is stuck in the ground. A winnowing basket is also used, and in it are placed five bowls of

/174 cont./

*782 tea, five piles of mi-pa, five stacks of paper money. The
●755 sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding a ritual
knife and a chiao-tzu, squats in front of the winnowing basket.
*[787] He utters an incantation and divines with the chiao-tzu, sips the tea, and states the reason. When the divination indicates that the shen can cure the ailment, then he again takes a cup of tea and utters an incantation into the cup, and rubs the tea on the eyes of the patient. After this the host and his friends and relatives in the village come to the house, and after they are assembled, the sorcerer-priest burns the paper to send off the shen.

The ritual for the Day Tea Shen is the same as that for the Early Tea Shen. That for the Night Tea Shen is also the same, except that it is held inside the house and that when all arrangements are in order and the sorcerer-priest is ready to perform the lights are extinguished.

(18) Offering Thanks to the Earth

*782 A Miao family which has held a Welcoming the Dragon
556 ceremony has dug a "dragon chamber" in the center of the main
[776] house (see "Welcoming the Dragon"), which is the place where the dragon shen is. Offering Thanks to the Earth is also called "Comforting the Dragon," to make the dragon shen happy in his chamber, thus bringing prosperity to the household. Therefore in Offering Thanks to the Earth the dragon chamber becomes the
*782 center of activities. They draw the eight diagrams outside it with powdered lime. In the middle of the diagrams are written the two characters chung-ying /"the center"/. Outside the diagrams is drawn a circle. Outside the circle are drawn five bows with arrow and the four characters chiu kung pa kua /"nine palaces, and eight diagrams"/. Twenty-three bowls are used: eleven bowls of wine; five bowls of uncooked rice, with a stick of incense and a candle inserted in each: five bowls of mi-pa; one bowl of tofu; and one bowl of tao-t'ou with a pair of chopsticks placed on it. There are also ten stacks of paper money, laid on each diagram within the circle and one

/175 cont./

*782 which are six bowls of wine less than for the ceremony of offering thanks to the earth. There is one more petition box, making seven boxes in all. The rest of the articles on the table are similar, except that the cinnabar is placed on top of the uncooked rice in the sheng. The ritual also is the same as for offering thanks to the earth, but no tea is poured and no bow and arrow are used. At the time of sending off the shen, the petition boxes are burned where they are. No shen numbers are used. When the cinnabar wine is ground it is buried on the top of the grave by /176/ piercing a small hole with a stick, after which the wine is poured down, and then it is covered with earth, and paper burned on it.

(20) Lu Pan

[796] [755] Lu Pan is the coffin shen, to whom sacrifices are offered in case of sickness or of seeing something strange. It is performed during the daytime at the right side of the main entrance. A winnowing basket is used, containing five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, a bowl of meat with a sprinkling of salt on it and a pair of chopsticks balancing on it. There is also a sheng of uncooked rice, on which there are a few coins and three sticks of incense stuck in. There are also five stacks of paper money and a bowl of water. They also use a cock with its wings and legs bound and a string through its nose, tethered to an axe. The axe and a saw are put against the doorsill. A piece of wood about 30 cm. long and 10 cm. wide is used as a small coffin, on which is placed a thin round stick as the carrying pole for the coffin. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the ritual sword and the chiao-tzu, utters the incantation to *[787] invoke the shen. He then divines with the chiao-tzu to see whether the shen has descended. He pours the wine and states the reason for the invocation, and also asks the shen to accept the offerings. He divines again, entreating the shen to protect

/176 cont./ the whole family. The helper then unties the cock's feet and leading it, /Illus. 74 appears here/ /177/ sorcerer-priest following, walks around the whole house, as in Illus. 74.[1] Then neighbors and relatives are invited to the house. After burning paper, the relatives and friends depart, and the helper carries all items to the crossroads, where the little coffin is burned with the paper money. The offerings are taken home by the sorcerer-priest. The utensils must be thoroughly washed before being taken into the house of the host.

(21) Lo Kung

The Miao sacrifice to Lo Kung because of sickness or because of having seen strange things. The ceremony is performed inside the main door during the daytime, when a square table is used, on which are laid five cups of wine; five piles of mi-pa, in the middle pile of which are inserted three sticks of incense; five stacks of paper money, and a bowl of burning chaff. The sorcerer-priest, wearing everyday clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters and incantation. After he has divined with the chiao-tzu to invoke the shen, stated the reason, and also asks the shen to accept the offerings, he takes a rest. The host then cooks the beef, cuts it up to make five piles, and puts it on the table. He also puts out a bowl of salted pepper soup. After the sorcerer-priest has again finished an incantation, he sits down with the host to eat the food on the table, and again takes a rest. The host adds five more bowls of beef together with five bowls of cooked rice, each having a pair of chopsticks stuck in it. The sorcerer again utters an incantation, divines with the chiao-tzu, and burns the paper to send off the shen.

[1] [See category 116, p265- ANALYST]

2:Ling & Ruey--298 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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771 Thus, on the basis of what Frazer and Malinowski have said,
789 we can clearly distinguish between Miao magic and religion.
For example, in the event of a drought, formerly the Miao
[731] would ask their sorcerer-priest to catch the dragon in order to
[782] seek rain, but now they offer sacrifices to the thunder kuei in
[82] order to seek rain. The former is magic, and the latter is re-
ligion, because catching the dragon to seek rain is the work
of a magician to get power, by ritual and incantation, to direct-
ly control nature: whether the end is reached or not, whether
it will rain or not, is the responsibility of the magician.
Offering sacrifices to the thunder kuei to seek rain requires
[776] only the completion of the necessary prayer and ritual: whether
there will be rain or not lies within the power of the spirits and
beyond the reach of man. After having studied the various
kinds of rituals for sacrifices to the kuei in the foregoing
sections, we can see that the magic of the Miao in Hunan has
largely progressed to the realm of religious acts, magic itself
having lost its practical value, but religion still carries with
it some imprints of magic. Therefore, the religion of the Miao
in Hunan may be called magical religion. But aside from
magical religion, there is still preserved a small amount of
pure magic. As stated above, magic is a practical technique,
and so the magic now still preserved among the Miao in Hunan
has its practical value. The magic of controlling nature, such
[773] as rain and wind, animals and vegetables, no longer exists to-
day, except in their folk tales, where traces of it may still be
found. The magic now preserved by the Miao may be divided
into two kinds: 1) hua shui /drawing water/, which is a form
[755] of white magic used to cure sickness; 2) fang ku /letting go
[754] insects/, which is a form of black magic used to make people
sick.

2:Ling & Ruey--299 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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1. The Magic of Drawing Water

789 791 868 Any magic has three elements: the magician, the ritual, and the incantation; these three, according to Malinowski, are the perpetual trinity of magic. (2) The magician who draws

2. See previously quoted Malinowski, p. 110.

water receives the training from a teacher. The teaching takes place at night in the third night watch and requires a long wooden bench, on which are placed incense, candles, paper money, tea, a cock, a red-ink pen, three chang of green cloth, a pair of shoes, and an envelope of money. The teacher communicates the incantations orally and transmits the ritual by performing them. /195/ Last of all he cuts the skin of his apprentice's head to make it bleed. The human blood and the cock's blood are mixed together with cinnabar for drawing spells and making books. After this has been taught, the student must practice every day within the next 49 days. After this period is over, he practices only on the first and the middle of each month, burning incense as he does so. It is said that if he practices wholeheartedly he will get spiritual help. The magician who learns the magic of drawing water all his life must abstain from eating pigeons of the sky and dogs, horses, and monkeys of the land, and eels, turtles, and loaches of the water. An infraction of this rule would make his magic ineffective.

[262]

• 755 789 The ritual of drawing water: a pair of candles, three sticks of incense, a bowl of uncooked rice, a piece of meat, a cup of clear water, and a quantity of paper money are used. At the beginning of his performance the magician must imagine the situation under which his teacher taught him the art. He first lights the candles, then the incense, which he sticks into the bowl of rice. On the rice there must be put some li-shih money, the amount not being set. After that he takes a cup of water,

/195 cont./

755 789 a cup of wine, and meat, and lays them down one by one. The magician then kowtows three times facing the altar for incense. Then he burns the paper money and takes down the cup of water with his left hand, using the thumb, forefinger, and little finger to hold it secure /Illus. 77 appears here/ /196/ (the middle and the fourth fingers bend into the palm). The forefinger and middle finger of his right hand close together to draw three magic signs facing the cup of water (Illus. 76, 77). While the magic signs are being drawn he

[352]

Illus. 76. The ritual of drawing water.

/196 cont./

755 789 recites to himself the magic formula for invoking his teacher, while imagining the situation under which his teacher taught him. After the magic formula invoking the teacher has been

Illus. 77. The gesture for drawing water.

said, he utters the magic formula for drawing water, and at a certain passage he takes a mouthful of water and sprays it upon the sick person, or he asks the sick person to drink the cup of water. In case of sudden illness or an injury sustained in open country or in the mountains, when it is not possible to set up an incense altar, it is only necessary to burn incense and paper, recite the incantation and draw the spell, and smear the injured part of the sick person with saliva.

The incantations for drawing water may be divided into two parts: one part is the magic formula for the invocation of

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789

the teacher, and the second part is the magic formula for the water. In the various kinds of incantations for drawing water, the formula for invoking the teacher is largely similar, but the formula for water differs. The following are some examples:

(1) Chiang-chün shui /general's water/: Cures sudden illness accompanied by fainting. The magic formula for invoking the teacher runs as follows: "Invoking /197/ Master so and so, who taught me orally, I raise my head to look up to the skies in the center of which the master is, and call him to come. As soon as I call, he comes. He is before me, behind me, to my left, and to my right, going from front to back, from left to right, hiding me, transforming me, so that where my body is cannot be seen. He helps me talk of proper water, and speaking of proper water, I draw a brass knife and an iron knife. The brass knife kills the kuei. The iron knife kills the kuei." Having said this magic formula to invite the teacher, he then utters the magic formula for the water: "Moving one foot, calling out once, I call upon the great Shang-yüan Great General. The first general, who bears the surname T'ang, was once the king of the Li kingdom; his feet pushes 800 carriages, like a room in Lao-chün's /i.e., Lao-tzu's/ inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (At this point the magician takes a mouthful of water and, making a fierce sound like a tiger, he sprays the water on the body of the sick person, and then, stamping his foot on the ground, he continues.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going away now, wait awhile. A hundred birds are repairing to the mountain, and so is the pretty woman. Moving a foot, calling out once, I call upon the Shang-yüan Great General. The second general, whose surname is Ko, emits smoke from his

/197 cont./

755 789 nose and a river from his mouth, and swells in Tu-wei palace in heaven. He pushes 800 carriages with his feet, like Lao-chün in his inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (As in the previous instance the magician sprays a mouthful of water and stamps his foot on the ground.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going, wait awhile. The belly of the kuei will be ripped open, his intestines taken out and his heart eaten. Moving a foot, calling out once, I call upon the Shang-yüan Great General. The third general, whose surname is Chu, can reverse the current of the Yellow River and can also push 800 carriages with his feet, like a room in Lao-chün's inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (As before the magician sprays water and stamps his foot.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going, wait awhile. The big ones will be half-eaten, and the little ones will be scraped and hung to dry. Everyone has a net, and so come quickly. If you do not come your nets will be messed up. (The last two sentences are uttered in a low and muffled tone.)

752 755 789 (2) Lu-szu shui /"egret silk"/: A remedy when a bone gets stuck in the throat through eating or drinking carelessly. On drinking this cup of water, the sick person can vomit out or swallow down the bone. The magic formula for invoking the teacher is the same as above. The magic formula for

752 /197 cont./
755 water is as follows: "When the moon rises above the four
789 pillars, chop up all the dirty kuei. /198/ May I become a monkey to properly change to drink water. If I call to change, then I will change. If I do not change, the disciple will draw a June sun in which to change. If I call to melt, I will melt; and if I do not, the disciple will draw a June sun, in which to melt. If I call to change, I will change; and if I do not, the disciple will draw 500 savage thunders to strike me into changing. If I call to melt, I will melt; and if I do not melt, the disciple will draw 500 savage thunders to force me to melt. Raising my head to look at the four directions, I see nine dragons coming down from heaven. When the dragons come they drop off their claws; when the tigers come they drop off their skins, and the hundreds of birds in the mountains drop off their feathers. Step by step they become steel. When I touch them they become small open boats." (Chanted three times.)

(3) Hsüeh-shan shui /"snow-mountain water"/: Heals skin burns. If the injury is slight, saliva can be used to smear on the burn, but for a serious injury it is necessary to use a bowl of water. He sprays three mouthfuls of water, and also flicks water on the burned place with his fingers. The magic formula for water follows: "The first request is for a distance of one li, the second for the distance of two li. The large army knife please go to the big snow mountain; and the small army knife please go to the small snow mountain. I respectfully invite my teacher, Lung Sheng-fa and profound disciple, Ma Lao-ch'iao. When an army is burned it is broken off; when the skin is burned it is broken off. Do not flow blood! do not flow water! Take the saliva as medicine."

(4) Ke-shan shui /"separated-by-a-mountain water"/: For healing someone injured by a fall or by a cut on the other side of a mountain. If the magician hears the cry for help, he then can utter an incantation to heal the injured person, except that he must inform the injured person beforehand: "If I ask you whether you are well or not, you should reply 'yes,'

/198 cont./

752 or the healing will be ineffective." The magic formula for
755 water is as follows: "On the other side of the mountain press
789 down the mountain; on the other side of the water press down the water; draw /i.e. delineate/ the burden of the kuei, chop off the kuei mountain. The old dragon has personally come to the dragon-deep rapids. Li Lao-ko of Mu-shan has been invited, and without fear of miscellaneous kuei or distant ones, the left hand draws the thunder of heaven, the right hand draws the thunder of the earth, drawing altogether 500 savage thunders."

(5) Tan-hsüeh shui /"carrying-blood water"/: This is used to heal an injured person whose blood keeps flowing. First ordering the man to take hold of the injured place, he utters an incantation and sprays a mouthful of water, and thus the bleeding will stop. The magic formula for the water is as follows: "Moving a foot, calling out once, I got Master Wu Hwa-hsing. Across the mountain I call out for the three stars; across the water I call out for shui-i /literally, "water meaning"/. The large army knife is carried to Ta-hung-sha /lit. "large great sands"/; the small army knife is carried to Hsiao /"small"/-hung-sha. The water of the Yangtze River and the current from the sea are carried. The foot stamps on the dragon's head, and the blood carried does not flow; the foot is set on the dragon's waist, and the blood carried does not seep out. Boys, boys, changed in the muddy fields. The boys are related. The master asks me to mark off the four places. The disciple asks me to point in the four directions."

(6) Feng-tao-k'ou shui /"closing-a-knife-wound water"/: Heals knife wounds. After this incantation is uttered three times, not only does the wound close, but the fingers become [751] immune to knife cuts. The magic formula is: "When the sun comes up it is a drop of red; the hand wields a golden whip to ride the dragon; a swallow of water stops the flow of the Yangtze River; the disciple presses the pulse, and the blood stops flowing."

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755 Always when the trouble was internal they called in the shamaness to go through her ritual and discover the cause of the trouble and the method to use to combat it. Of course they consulted her for other troubles, too, and on rare occasions asked a priest to perform a similar ritual.

757 123 One day I discovered that the young man in House 31 had a bad foot. I made him put it in hot water and put on salve. During the day a big carbuncle under his big toe came to a head, broke, and began to exude pus nicely. I left him with a rag around it, and he later went to sleep. They gave me a good breakfast with turnips in the soup.

At the funeral of the oldest inhabitant I found myself holding a sort of clinic after each feast — treatment for sore eyes, various kinds of sores and boils, and a teething baby whose stomach was upset. I had a great many calls in the village for eye drops to help sore eyes and trachoma, by even an old lady who was going blind. I had almost as many calls for salves to put on skin troubles, which were a great affliction to them. It was not safe to prescribe for more serious complaints lest they blame me when the patient died. However, the use of simple remedies was an excellent way to make friends, as I learned when I gave the poor little baby of one of the priests cod liver oil and the child began to pick up. Even tiny babies had big boils on the shoulder or foot.

164 Each summer while I was in the *hsien* there were epidemics of dysentery in the *hsien* city, brought by travelers — refugees and soldiers, chiefly — and this was then carried to the villages. One summer the whole family in which I was staying had the complaint. The second son of the old man's son died of it. The previous summer the first son and a girl baby in a nearby household had died of it, also. It once developed into meningitis and death resulted in a day or two. The only other cause of death among children which I knew of personally was malnutrition. In that case the mother of a baby who had just died, and whose breasts were painfully full, promised me to feed the other child, but never did so.

165 Four other deaths in the village during the period were all of old or elderly men and

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the older man carried a live duck and a bowl of wine, one of the younger men a bag for rice, and the other a staff with leaves and white paper streamers, and a handful of spirit money. The older man chanted as before and kept muttering to himself as he went from one house to another. They told me this was called *sao ho hui.*

The activities of the priest in connection with death and burial have already been described. The priest also has a part to play in connection with bullfights (see pp. 76–80).

The ritual which Miss Li saw took place just outside of the village in the presence of the baby's father. This priest had before him a bowl of rice and one of wine. In his arm he held a live duck. After he had chanted he set an egg into the bowl of rice, spilled some of the wine, felt in the earth for "the child's spirit, or soul," wrapped up a bit of the earth in a cloth and gave it to the father, who took it and the duck and went home. The child died.

Before the taoist priest chanted, a table was set up before the shrine to the house god in the main hall of the house, partly in and partly out of the pile of unhulled rice lying there. Along the front of the table was the festoon of wooden daggers which usually hung above the door of this house. On the table were one of the priest's sacred books, a banner of white paper in a bamboo stick, a measure of rice with incense sticks in it, several bowls, and some bamboo lots. I had been invited to have supper with them because I had been helping them cut rice that day. While we were waiting for supper to be prepared in the home of the son, next door, we sat in the front side room in which the wife of the head of the house lay on a pallet of straw by the fire. The priest showed me three books from a bagful which he had brought with him. One contained his chants, one charts of the face with points marked on it, and the third explanations of the meaning of the dragon and other sacred things. Before he chanted again he took down a book which he had laid on the woven bamboo shelf above the fire, and placed it on the table. The three books I had been examining he put where the first book had been.

This man was dressed in a pair of loose khaki trousers and an old jersey. As he sang

788 793 or chanted, he was quite lively, sometimes facing the shrine, sometimes the door. In his right hand he jangled a chain with pieces of iron on it, and with his left hand he clacked pieces of wood. While he chanted he directed one of the sons of the family to burn spirit money at the door. Some had been burned before the table during the afternoon. He ate supper with us, but left early and went back to chant again.

This was the only home in the village which had the festoon of wooden daggers. I saw them in a Ch'ing Miao village near An-shun, where snail shells from a certain mountain were used in the same way, as a charm against evil. The Ch'ing Miao houses also had many imprints of hands in lime, and crude drawings of men, one holding a dagger, in lime, on the outer walls of their houses. There they also hung up the placenta of a child in a bowl over the door. In Yünnan where I saw the hands in lime on the houses it was said to be a charm against disease, or to have been put on a house where a death had occurred. In Lung-li one 788 • 755 of these priests was called in on behalf of the postmaster when he was ill. The procedure was about the same, but a chicken was killed and eaten by the family and by his wife's relatives, who had been visiting them and who had called in the priest. 793

791 788 755 **The Priestess, or Shamaness.** (In Miao, "*mu la*" or "*mo wa.*") There were three women in the village who were able to go into a trance, sing a certain song, and get a message from the spirits in times of trouble or illness. The eldest one, nearly sixty years old, was said by Miss Li to be famous for her skill. The one surnamed T'ang moved away while I lived in Lung-li. All of them sang in Miao, though Miss Li said the oldest one also sang in Chinese. Their instructions to the one who brought them the articles they used in the ceremony and their message were either in Chinese or in Miao. Usually the ritual lasted nearly two hours. The most elaborate one I saw lasted almost all day. Afterward a good meal was prepared, of which the main dish was the fowl — chicken or duck — killed during the ceremony. The shamaness was the

*Thirty cents in Chinese currency.

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741 guest of honor. One priest told Miss Li that
788 in his own village he received nothing for his
755 services, but that in another village he would be given a fowl, eggs, or rice. The woman received a few *mao*[9] to several dollars and was given choice pieces from the meal to take home.

Miss Li said one woman told her she had received power to perform this ceremony after she had had a serious illness, "died," and recovered. Certain actions were performed by all of them, but the oldest woman, whom I saw just once, was much more natural and spontaneous in what she did, less stiff in her movements. She also seemed to be able to see what she was doing and fully conscious as she gave instructions. I took down what I saw of the activities of all of them in general and of one ceremony in detail. It still remains to take down the words of the song, translate them, and correlate them with the actions.

The ceremony was always performed beside one of the floor fires indoors. The shamaness sat on a low stool or bench before the fire, with other women and children about it. The one for whom the ceremony was held was required to be present throughout, if possible. Others came and went. One or more, usually older persons, listened for the message. Others talked or listened as they pleased, sometimes exclaiming over something that was said, but most of the time seeming to pay no attention at all. Before the ceremony began certain articles were placed on a round, flat bamboo tray, commonly used in winnowing, on a bench at the side of the room. One person in the family saw to it that these or other articles were brought to the shamaness as she required them. Children were reproved for imitating her, though at other times they learned to sing her song.

Before she began her ceremony, the shamaness always put a white or blue cloth over her face. The cloth of her turban held it in place. Then she put her hands over her face and sighed, or sat stiffly erect and whistled a long-drawn-out note or a little of the song. Her feet began to move. Usually the knees moved rapidly and stiffly up and down, the toes of

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her feet never leaving the floor. She began her song, which was interrupted by speaking and action. As she sang, her hands assumed various positions: clasped in her lap close to her body, clasped around her knees, held stiffly out in front, held straight out to the side or back of the bench with the hands fluttering rapidly from the wrist, hung loosely at her sides before the bench, or resting lightly upon it, with one hand raised before the face, or both hands lying quietly clasped in her lap. When she spoke she often bent forward and put her hand down with the fingers touching the ground, as if feeling for something. She panted, sighed, or coughed, as if tired. She whistled, hissed, or clapped her hands. She always directed that fire be carried to the door once or three times during the ceremony, or that spirit money be burned on the floor by the tray. The one who carried fire to the door — a bundle of straw, several pieces of spirit money, or incense sticks — knelt down and, a Chinese girl told me, called the spirit to return. The ceremony ended as she swung a bowl containing wine or some other liquid in her right hand, then turned it abruptly upside down on the floor. She put her hands to her face and in a little while removed the cloth. Actions in between varied with the performer and the nature of the trouble which called for the ceremony.

I do not know the nature of the trouble in one case, but in all others but one it was illness which, if a physician had been consulted, would have called for internal medicine. Usually it had to do with the stomach or intestines. It seemed to me that every time I was asked to give medicine for worms, dysentery, or other intestinal complaint, they also called in the shamaness. The local Chinese firmly believed that Miao women could cause intestinal trouble and even death by transferring a poison from their bodies to that of another, and it may be that they feared I could do that, too! Once a child had worms, once another had dysentery, once a young man had some stomach trouble, once a woman had heart trouble with edema. Once Cheng-hsiang was long in returning after being taken by soldiers.

In one ceremony an egg was tied three times into a long, blue cloth, which the shamaness tied over her right shoulder so that the egg

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was on her back. Once she tied a pinch of ashes in it; once she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt, and once she washed her left hand with ashes in it in a small tub of water. When a knot in the end of a cloth was thrust under a bamboo frame roofed with brown paper, she laid on it an intricate knot of straw which she had made. When she struck the frame into the fire with a hatchet the straw knot went with it. In another ceremony one egg was carried, still in the blue cloth, to the loft above the stable.

Following are the detailed accounts of actions in three ceremonies. In one case movements of hands and feet are correlated with the others.

(a) For Lao-hsi, a boy of ten, whose case I had diagnosed as worms. I gave santonine and calomel. His disposition had improved greatly by the time they called in the shamaness. It was one of the longest ceremonies I saw. Motions of hands and feet are not given, nor are singing and speaking correlated with the rest in this account. As for the actions and articles used:

First a bamboo scoop of fine ashes was brought. Of them she made two heaps on the hearth stone and patted them firm. A bamboo arch with dried plants and white paper imitations of them fastened to the uprights, and orange paper strips hanging from the crest of the arch, was given to her. She inserted the uprights in the mounds. Two bowls of wine, two bowls of small pieces of fried pork, and three pieces of the round, white glutinous rice cakes were brought. She arranged them as follows: the bowls of pork between the two piles and in line with them, the bowls of wine in front of the other bowls (toward her), and the pieces of cake resting against the outside of the piles of ashes. A second, smaller arch was brought and she set it across the bowl of pork to her right, parallel to the upright of the other arch. A live duck was given her to hold and a duck's egg was put into her right hand. This she broke into the hot ashes of the fire. (After these and succeeding eggs were cooked they were taken away by someone other than the attendant.) She held the duck in her outstretched right hand and let its wings flutter, then gave it back. A hatchet was put into her right hand, the bowls were moved to one side,

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788 and the frame was taken away. She struck the hatchet down into the firepit between the piles of ashes and put pinches of them twice to the right ear, once to the left, again to the right and finally to the left, assuming a listening attitude each time. A second duck's egg was given her, which she also broke into the ashes. The attendant brought the duck again, but she did not take it.

Everything was taken away but one bowl, which remained by her left knee. An axe was put on the ground at her right. She took it up and used it in the same way as she had used the hatchet, taking up pinches of ashes as before. A piece of cured pork tied in straw so that it could be carried by it was brought. She put it into the ashes of the fire. The piles of ashes were taken away. The axe was brought and used as before. A *sheng* measure of rice was set before her and five split sticks with triangles of white paper inserted in the clefts were prepared and given to her. These she stuck into the four corners and the center of the measure. A hen's egg was brought, which she broke into the ashes. The measure of rice and the pennants were then taken away and set back on a pile of rice on the tray at the side of the room. This tray also contained incense sticks, spirit money, a pile of unhulled glutinous rice, and the bowls of rice, pork, and tea.

The attendant now lighted some incense sticks and put them, with five pieces of spirit money, a bowl of cooked rice, one of pieces of pork, one of tea, and the five pennants on a smaller bamboo tray and took them out of the room. A red thread and a green one were laid across the outstretched hands of the woman. Another bamboo frame was set before her, a piece of brown paper was laid on top, and three strips of red paper with inscriptions laid on top of that. She took up the axe in her hands. A long piece of blue cloth was brought. She tied a knot in one end and stuck it under the frame. She knocked the frame into the fire with the axe, while the attendant pulled the cloth away.

The piece of pork in its straw holder was given to her again. She put it into the ashes. A bowl of water was brought and a bit of

» See p. 52. [62a]

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788 blazing leaf from the fire put into it. She took the bowl in her left hand and poured
• 755 out some of the water. A bowl of rice was
791 set before her. She poured out a little more of the water, then the remainder, and turned the bowl upside down beside the bowl of rice. The piece of pork was laid between the rice bowl and the firepit. Everything was taken away and the scythe put into her right hand. A small wooden tub with water in it was set near her left hand. She whetted the scythe on the edge of the tub, twisted it in the ashes, took up the pinches of ashes as before, and washed her hands in the tub. A duck's egg was given her, which she set up on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe five times toward the door. (We had been warned to move just in time.) She put a piece of blazing charcoal into the tub of water, which was then taken away.

A bundle of blazing straw was taken from the fire to the door of the house. Again the tub and scythe were brought and used as before. Another egg was given her and set up on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe twice and put hot ashes into the tub. Fire was taken to the door—a bundle of blazing spirit money. The bowl of tea was put into her right hand, and, as she swung it back and forth, the egg was taken away, wrapped in white paper. As she turned the bowl exactly upside down on the floor at her right the ceremony was completed.

(b) For Chuan-ch'ien,[10] a baby of a year and a half, who had dysentery. Two days before the mother had told me he had a fever. I gave him a small dose of quinine and aspirin. Then I learned that he had dysentery, and gave her bismuth for him. They told me later that he had not taken it. I do not know whether that meant that he would not take it—it is hard for a child to take, being a powder that does not dissolve easily in water—or whether they did not give it. He developed meningitis and died during the night after the ceremony was held.

Early in the morning I saw in the court before the old house water buffalo horns set upright on the stones, with rushes under them. I was told this was a sign to ward off evil.

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During the morning I saw a spray of thorn tied with rushes lying at the corner of the stable before the new house. Later, and this must have been part of the ceremony, though I had heard no singing as yet, I saw the baby's mother carry a lighted bundle of straw to an open space before the house foundation in front of House 17, kneel down, and watch it burn. She left a small twig of cassia stuck in the ground and went back to the old house.

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This was like carrying a bundle of burning straw, incense sticks, or spirit money to the door and calling the soul to return. When I heard the singing I went into the court and the child's grandmother told me to go in. I thought the old man's second wife protested later, but they let me stay. Thus, though the following gives what I saw in detail, I probably must have missed the beginning of the ceremony.

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I had arrived after the ceremony began. On the hearth before her was a partly burned bamboo frame. In the pit, at one side, stood a lighted incense stick. On the tray at one side of the room were a *sheng* of rice with incense sticks and a woman's earring in it, several bowls with some dark liquid in them from a cooked leaf, and spirit money, some burned. Before the house were buffalo horns set on rushes. A spray of thorn tied with long rushes lay on the stone steps before the west end of the house on the south side of the threshing floor (*A* on fig. 12). I saw the mother of the sick child take a bunch of lighted straw and a spray of cassia leaves to a point just beyond the path leading out of the village to the west (*B* on fig. 12). She let the straw burn and stuck the spray in the ground. It was then that I heard the song for the first time.

788 (c) For Cheng-hsiang, who had been taken by soldiers and was then near Ch'angsha, Hu-
755 nan, until money should be sent to him for
791 traveling expenses. Shamaness, the oldest of the three.

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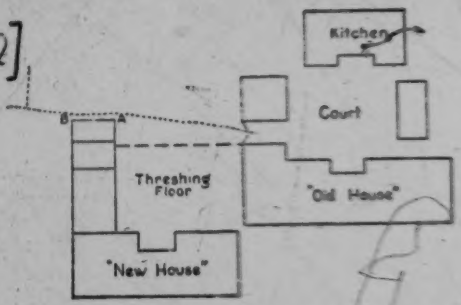

FIG. 12. Plan of "new" and "old" houses, showing the location of the spray of thorn on the threshing floor (*A*) and the point to which the mother took the spray of cassia (*B*).

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788 She had already begun to sing when I was called in from helping with the sunning of 755 grain. Cheng-hsiang's wife was making a frame of bamboo sticks. On the tray at the side of 791 the room were the *sheng* measures of rice with lighted incense sticks in it, six dishes of a stewed green vegetable, a small pile of unhulled glutinous rice, a bunch of spirit money, and a few incense sticks. In the measure were also several dollar bills, later given to the shamaness. Her whole performance was less stiff, much more natural and easy than that of the younger women. She may not have been able to see through the cloth over her face, but she could certainly see below it. In some of the things she did there seemed to be conscious looking to see what she was doing. Sometimes, also, someone would ask her what to do, and she would give directions before going on with her song or actions.

Soon after I arrived she directed someone to burn spirit money on the floor near the tray, where some had been burned before. A little later she suddenly plunged forward. The iron ring on a tripod which supported the cooking pot and which had been sitting in the fire-pit was taken away. She then took some of the ashes from the pit in her left hand and held them with the right hand folded over the left, as she continued to squat by the hearth. The cupped hands she put to her ears, as others had held the pinches of ashes in their fingers. Then she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt.

She spoke a great deal, mostly in Chinese, but sometimes in Miao. A number of times she called out "P'ei ch'ao," which I was told was a call to the spirit or god of that name to come. I heard another woman make a similar call, which sounded more like "T'ei ch'ao," and again "P'an," while a third called "Mu la."

Her song was complete, but it did not have as prominent a place as in other cases, just came in at intervals, as it were. She also did much less jumping of the feet, sometimes just moved them a little nervously. When she let the hands flutter from the wrist the arms were not held rigidly at the side, but back of the bench on which she sat. Then they were lowered a little and gradually lost their motion before being brought forward. Most of the time she held her hands clasped together

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quietly in her lap, or before her waist. She had a graceful motion of lifting the hand before the face and turning the palm upward, or with the thumb slightly raised.

A duck was brought and its wings and feet tied so that it could move but not get away. It was laid on the hearth to one side. The woman who did this then made some double-ended wooden daggers and some bamboo lots, while another made the white paper pennants stuck into cleft sticks. An axe was brought and put into her right hand. She struck it down into the ashes and moved them about, then set it so that the butt was down. She stroked it toward the sharp edge and took up ashes as before. This pinch of ashes was put into a long blue cloth such as is worn as part of the turban. Both she and the person who brought the cloth examined the ashes before they were folded into the cloth and it was taken away.

While she was using the axe a bench was set before the house on the steps at the front door, at the right side as one leaves the house. On it were set the sheng measure of rice with four lighted incense sticks, five double-ended wooden daggers and six of the white paper pennants in it. There were three bowls of wine on one side and two on the other. A long branch of bamboo was set up on the ground and something shaken from it into one of the blue cloths. Before this was finished and the things had been taken away, the shamaness had been given the duck, which she held up by its neck, first loosening the wings and then the feet until the wings fluttered wildly. She squatted by the fire as she did this, then sat back on the bench, holding the duck by its wings. Those who had been at the door returned.

She chanted as I have heard priests chant before they cast lots, something I heard no other shamaness do, and cast the pieces of bamboo four times. They landed three times with both curved sides up and once with split sides up. She took up ashes and put them into a cloth, which Cheng-hsiang's mother took from her turban for the purpose. The axe was laid on the hearth before her. First one duck's egg and then a second she set up on end on the butt end of the axe head, then took it up into her hand, set it upright on the fingers,

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and allowed it to roll back into the palm, after which she tied it into the cloth. This she tied over her shoulder with the eggs and ashes on her back. She threw the axe as the others had thrown the scythe. A basin of water was brought so that she might wash her hands.

A piece of dried meat was brought and laid on the hearth before her. The frame was set over this and a roof made of four pieces of spirit money. One of Cheng-hsiang's father's shoes was brought, and set beside it. The piece of meat was put into the shoe. She took up the axe and struck the frame and money into the ashes. A child had playfully tried to make a frame, also. Fire was kindled so that all of these might be thoroughly burned up—except the shoe and meat.

She set the hatchet, sharp side down, into the firepit and set the egg on end on the butt end. She put it in her hand as before and then tied it into the cloth. This egg was then under her left arm. Later she took the cloth off and gave it to its owner. Incense and spirit money were burned at the door. She set four chopsticks together so that they stood erect in a bowl of wine. She struck the axe into the firepit so that the chopsticks fell. These were taken away. (When she did this trick and the one of rolling eggs back into her palm, she smiled as if she knew she was doing something smart.) She took up ashes as before and tied them into a cloth, which someone took away after they had examined the ashes in it. She threw the axe several times again, calling "P'ei ch'ao." She began to swing her right hand as if she had a bowl in it. One of the bowls from the tray was set on the back of her hand. She swung it back and forth, then turned it upside down on the floor.

One of her special combinations was a sort of hissing, a single clap of the hands, putting them back of the bench and fluttering them

[11] Graham, 1937, p. 90.

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from the wrist, clapping them before her, then raising the left hand before her face. Once she bent over double as she held her hands behind her and fluttered them. When she put her hand down on the floor before her the thumb touched the floor, the first three fingers were held in a row and the little one back. Sometimes she put her hand before her face in this formation. There was much sighing as if she were exhausted, some coughing. Sometimes she put her hand up under the cloth as if to hold it away from her face. Her song was in Miao. After the feast she continued to sit by the fire and visit with Cheng-hsiang's mother and me for the remainder of the afternoon.

Divination. Divination by means of bamboo lots was a part of such rituals as those performed by priests at childbirth and "the opening of the way," and by one of the shamanesses in case of illness. On one occasion a woman relative of the deceased who remained in the village after a funeral was guest at a meal in another home, to which I was also invited. After this meal Mrs. Liu, the only Chinese woman in our village, brought a bowl of rice grains and asked a question. The visitor put a cloth over the bowl so as to press down the grains firmly, then removed it and answered the question from the form the grain took in the bowl. This is comparable to a similar practice among the Ch'uan (River) Miao in Szechuan, which Dr. David Crockett Graham describes as follows:

> When the divining is done by rice, use one bowl of rice and take a cloth and cover it well. The master of the house or a sick person blows his breath three times on the rice and the *tuan kung* 端公 rubs the surface of the rice with his hand. Then when he has finished speaking, he takes the cloth off and examines the rice to see if the grains are perpendicular or horizontal and thus determines the good or ill luck of the family.[12]

of the day, the ceremony is over, and work is taken up with new zeal, there being abroad a general feeling of security. 796 782

As with all people of an early culture, rites half religious, half magical, play no small part in the daily life of the Miao. To these people, demons are as real as smells to dogs. Wizards can control and direct unseen powers, and the successful ones exert an enormous influence on their fellow tribespeople. The wizards who practice white magic are in great demand, since they are able to heal such diseases as typhoid, anæmia, malaria, and what may be styled the less troublesome illnesses. Scorning to use their occult power to injure people, these wizards are looked up to and even beloved. By their knowledge of plants and herbs they cure sickness, and when there is pain give considerable relief. In fact, they offer a primitive medical service to the tribe. 776 755

There is, however, another class of magician, less skilful, whose influence is distinctly anti-social. They "overlook" both people and cattle, causing extremely painful deaths. In addition, they are believed to release secret arrows, which, entering into any part of the human body, induce intense suffering and sickness, from which not infrequently the victim never recovers. A pig is ill or dies: at once it is thought that the animal has been spitefully "overlooked". A person suddenly falls sick: immediately it is put down to the ill-wish of some wizard practising black magic. Through some painful illness which does not answer to the 754

791 Miao-I center has one or two Kwei-shih, who learned their trade since childhood. Among the
[212] Chung-chia people the magic charms used for such spiritual purposes are marked with Chinese characters as phonetic symbols and written down as a scripture to be transmitted from master to disciple. The Kwei-shih, who are farmers by trade, take up mediumship as a side line to supplement their income from remunerations gained
[753] from its practice. In case of sickness the
791 Miao-I believe the evil spirits are causing
462 trouble, and it is the duty of the Mi-la to chase them away in order to cure the sick person. Often she is invited to the house to do her work. Sometimes in public gatherings the Mi-la is surrounded by people inquiring from her as to the best method of driving away spirits. Evidently the Mi-la is less able than the Kwei-shih, for in case of very serious illness or in the performance of funeral rites the man medium is always preferred.

(2) Spirits of ailment. The Miao-I's belief in spirits is so strong that in case of ailment they neither think of a doctor nor of medicine, but of the Mi-la alone. She is generally an old woman, and on arriving at the house she is immediately possessed by the divinity she has invoked. The latter would reveal to her the identity of the evil spirit and devise /90/ the means to be extricated from it. There are many kinds of evil spirits, and the measures to ward them off also vary.

As a result of our investigation, we are able to list the names of the spirits and their antidotes:

776 1. The Family Spirit. The disembodied
755 spirit of a departed person of the same tribe, when met on the road, would give serious stomach-ache. The antidote is to take a bowl of rice filled with water, and twelve sheets of

paper money placed on a sieve, and to carry them outside the village gate to be discarded on the ground. Then the sick person will recover immediately. 776 755

2. The Shrinking Head Spirit. When one meets this spirit on a mountain slope, one acquires a terrible headache; the antidote is to throw a bowl of rice with water at the village gate.

3. The Wealth Wasting Hundred Blessing Spirit. This spirit when encountered causes a person to vomit; the antidote is the same as for the Shrinking Head Spirit.

4. The Nine Worms Spirit. When a man gets this spirit he would feel cold all over his body and would vomit. To cure this sickness one has to make an effigy of a worm with paper and rice straw and leave it at the intersection of three roads outside the village.

5. The Drowning Spirit. When one meets this spirit one gets a terrible stomach-ache. In order to get cured one takes a bowl of rice with water, plants a burning incense in it and leaves it on the road outside the village.

6. The Suspended Spirit. This spirit gives one pain in the heart and stomach; the cure for this sickness is the same as that for the shrinking head spirit.

7. The Wolf Dog Spirit. If one has a severe stomach-ache while working in the field, he must have encountered this spirit. The method of cure is to knead a ball of clay into the shape of a dog to be discarded by the sick man at a distant place.

8. The Headless Spirit. If a child cries without stop at the intersection of three roads, he must have seen a Headless ghost. To stop the child crying, take a bowl of water, place a bamboo leaf in it, and leave it at the junction.

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755 9. The Eagle Spirit. If someone feels weak and painful all over the body while walking outside the village or in the field, you can take a small chicken, circle it around the sick person's head a few times, and then send it to a distant place. He will soon get well.

10. The Dragon Tail Spirit. If walking in the field one finds great pain in one's legs, it is because this spirit is giving trouble. Make a flag out of a piece of flower paper and walk with it around the field, and the pain in the leg will cease.

11. The Tree Spirit. Meeting this spirit gives one pain all over the body. To cure this illness take a piece of good meat, a cup of tea and a bowl of rice to the tree spirit in the village. After the sacrifice the sickness will be cured.

12. The Buffalo Spirit. When one meets this spirit one has a swollen stomach. Take a bowl of ashes from wheat husk and scatter it outside the village.

13. The Earth Spirit. One vomits after meeting this spirit, and the method of cure is the same as that for the sickness caused by the buffalo spirit.

14. The Wine Spirit. This spirit gives a person giddiness, and to get rid of him one burns three pieces of paper money outside the house.

15. The Mother Pig Spirit. Meeting this spirit one feels feverish all over the body. Take a pair of candles and several sticks of incense, stick them up beside the door, and this spirit will go away.

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796 (3) The Village God. After the spring sacrifice to the tree god the Miao and I people within the hsien district would chop off a piece of wood to make a pair of idols to be placed in front of the village gate, or sometimes in a low

the womb again. After this any child born is sure to grow into manhood. The decapitation and butchering have to be done before the child breathes his last. When the parents perceive that the illness of the child is identical to that of the other deceased children, /92/ they expect him to die, and taking advantage of his still being alive they cut off his head and legs. Otherwise, they believe, the prevention would not be effective. It is said that some ignorant Chinese in the same locality also follow this custom. 751 847

(10) Hair Preservation. When a child of the Miao-I is born the parents invariably ask a fortune-teller to outline his life's destiny. If his destiny is not good, then his hair is allowed to grow until he is six or twelve years old when he has his first haircut. The long unshaved hair is said to help preserve the life of the child. The first haircut is an occasion for great celebration: every household in the village would hang out red and green festoons and send greetings to the parents, who in turn would give a party, killing chicken and pig for a great feast. 787 852 856

(11) The Small Horse Image. If a child among the Ch'ing Miao cries all night without stop, the parents would attribute the cause of the trouble to the passing by of the "sky horse", a colloquial name for the locust. They would hang on the door a straw-wrapped bowl filled with rice and water, and little images of horses cut from the bark of a tree. This would stop the cry of the child. 755 753

(12) Throwing Water and Rice. When a Miao-I first becomes ill, the general assumption is that he has run into some starving ghost. The family immediately burns a bunch of unhusked rice and lights incense and candles in a bowl of rice immersed in water. This bowl is carried

755 753 outside the village, and its contents are strewn on the ground. When the bowl is taken home and the sick person is not yet well, then a Mi-la is called in to drive away the hungry ghost by prayer.

789 (13) Drawing a Cat. Because of the destruction by rats in the house, the Miao-I often stick up a picture of a large cat on the wall to scare away the rats. They claim this device is very effective.

777 (14) The Auspicious Day. The Miao-I in the hsien district do not consult an almanac but consider as lucky any of the even days (2,4,6,8) in the lunar calendar as well as the ch'en and hsü days of the month. To ch'en belongs the dragon and to hsü, the dog, both of which do not have any taboo. So all the affairs of the Miao-I are conducted on either the even days or the dragon and dog days.

754 (15) Poisonous Insects and Medicines. It is said that in the Miao villages in An-shun certain women breed poisonous insects and certain men concoct medicines to harm people. Men and women who acquire these poisons - women by heredity and men through constant practice - are subject to frequent attacks themselves, ailing all over the body, So they have to eject their poisons to hurt others. Sometimes when they cannot harm human beings they can nevertheless damage woods and stones, for if their poisons are not ejected they themselves will be destroyed. This is a deep-rooted belief among the 754 Miao people. Each time an illness is prolonged 787 or becomes aggravated, the family suspects that the sick person has been affected by poisonous insects or medicines. In order to find out whether the sick person has acquired any poison, a test is made by placing at night a boiled egg on the breast of the sick person or beside his pillow. Next morning the egg is shelled and ex-

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771 THE MIAO AND, WE THINK, ALL THE OTHER RACES of Eastern Asia ought to be reckoned as Animists. The Chinese may call themselves Confucianists and Buddhists, but they are also Animists. It is conceivable that in a short time many of them will profess to be Agnostics and Materialists, but they will also be Animists. For all the peoples of Eastern Asia the world is full of immaterial powers and intelligences, even certain rocks and trees are possessed of some sort of spiritual efficacy. Among the Miao these spiritual beings are demons and always inimical to human kind.

771 At first we were inclined to think that the 755 Miao worshipped demons, but when again and again they denied this, and seemed unfeignedly amused at the idea of worshipping demons, we concluded that we were mistaken. The performances they go through, which seem to us like religious rites, are done to drive away or keep away the demons, and to counteract their evil influences. If a man is ill, or his cattle sick, if he has had bad luck, or any misfortune befalls him, he attributes this to demons; and a wizard or exorcist is summoned. Their modes of procedure are various, but might generally be summed up as offerings, unintelligible mutterings, and the throwing about of rice water and 755 knives in every direction. They also believe

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in the use of herbs as medicine, but when to take medicine and when to send for the exorcist is not very clear. We imagine when a man is sick he first takes medicine, and if this fails to act as it ought, he concludes there is a demon troubling him and sends for an exorcist to deal with it. In the case of ague, the Heh Miao always think it is a demon, and the sufferer goes away into the woods to hide himself and thus escape from it. 755.

Any man who has learned the incantations and knows how things ought to be done, may be a wizard or exorcist. Their fees are not exorbitant. A quart or two of rice, and a little of anything else that may be going, pork or whisky, is all they get for their services. There are usually two or three of them in every village. The Miao say that their exorcists are the same as the Chinese *tuan-kung* or Taoists, and so it appears to us they are. 791

Sometimes a man is accused of having a demon, and this is a bad thing for the man, if it is generally believed. This does not mean that he is possessed by a devil, but that he has at his command a demon who does his will to the injury of others. We know a man who lately accused a neighbour before the Chinese magistrate for saying that he had a demon. 754

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

755 The Ch'uan Miao have no so-called doctors but there are some people who are supposed to know more about healing than others. They use mutton, pork, fish, the flesh of hawks or dogs, grasses, roots, bones of leopards, tigers and bears, and fossil bones and teeth. Neolithic stone axes, when found, are ground to powder and used as medicine. Fish is used to heal many diseases, pork to heal colds, dog meat to heal rheumatism, mutton to heal stomach trouble, and there is a kind of grass that is supposed to heal broken bones. This grass is wrapped around the broken limb which is bound up tightly until the bone has grown together. A few of these medicines have healing power, but others are positively harmful.

753 755 All diseases are supposed to be caused by demons. These creatures are the unhappy souls of human beings, animals and some inanimate things such as mountains and stones. The soul of a human being may become a demon if there are no descendants to provide for its needs or if the descendants are unfilial, do not show due reverence, and do not provide through offerings the necessary food, money, clothing, etc. Naturally the way to heal a disease is to get rid of the demon that is causing it and this is the work of the *tuan kung*. He knows how to find out what demon is causing the trouble and by means of charms, ceremonies and incantations he exorcises the demon and heals the disease. Of course he is paid for his services.

164 165 With such meager and inadequate provision for the healing of the sick it is not at all strange that the death-rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high. A Ch'uan Miao friend told me that eleven children had been born to him and that only two were still living, both of whom were less than ten years old.[13] He said that he believed that many deaths were caused by the use of the wrong medicines. It is evident that if the birth-rate were not correspondingly high the Ch'uan Miao would gradually disappear. Malaria, typhoid, and tuberculosis probably cause more deaths than other diseases.

762 A great many Ch'uan Miao women commit suicide, and it seems almost fashionable for them to take their own lives. The reasons are: first, that the husband and the husband's parents mistreat the wife; second, that her husband is unfaithful; and third, that she is grieved because of the death of her children.

763 When a person dies, people are afraid as long as the corpse is in the house, because they believe that the soul of the dead person may do harm to the living.

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13. Since this was written, one of these two children and the father have died.

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776 A tiger often changes into a good person. A woman who has changed into a tiger is called in Chinese a *lao pien p'o* 老變婆 or an old woman who changes. She looks like a dead person or is formless and invisible. Or she may look like a visible woman but when she thinks of being transformed into a demon she smiles and when she thinks of being transformed into a human being she weeps. She goes in front of a tiger to make a way for him and if a trap or a trap-gun is set to injure the tiger she removes it so the tiger will not be hurt. The first son of a family named T'ao, Wang or Chang can change easily into a tiger and the first daughter can 776 change easily into a *lao pien p'o*. A fox can assume the form of a man and entice a woman to sexual intercourse. After- 753 wards the woman has pains and develops spots where the skin dries up. If she is not cured, she gradually dies and changes 755 into a fox. A very large snake called in Chinese a *mang she* 蟒蛇 may transform itself into a man or a woman and entice a person to have sexual relations with him or her. The result is that the person pines away and dies unless a *tuan kung* 端公 can overcome the snake and save the person. The supposed snake may be killed and its liver given the patient to eat; this cures him. Imagination and suggestion probably have a great deal to do with such sicknesses and cures. Banana trees, vines, rats, frogs, and eels may also change into human form and entice a human being to sexual intercourse with the result that the person becomes ill and dies unless saved by the help of the *tuan kung*.

776 There are god-like beings that are believed in by the Ch'uan Miao but who are not formally worshipped. The greatest god is Ntsə. He controls the heaven and the earth but lives in the sky. The paradise to which the souls of the dead go, as we have seen, is the level land of Ntsə. A Miao told me that Ntsə is the very highest, the ultimate, and that he is everywhere, can be in the lowest place and is compassionate and most powerful.

Ntsə sometimes sends his daughter to succor poor and unfortunate men. This has been noted by Savina in his book on the Miao of Tongkin. Sometimes she becomes, at least temporarily, the man's wife.

Another name, Ntsə Njonŋ Lʌu, means god, foundation, old. One can imagine easily that it means Ntsə the foundation of the universe. Some Ch'uan Miao identify Ntsə Njong Lʌu with Ntsə but in the minds of others it is not very clear.

Another deity-like being is Yei Sʌu or ʔei Sʌu. He is very intelligent, never dies, is very kindly and merciful, is just, induces people to do good deeds and helps people who are in trouble, especially the poor. He is sometimes seen among the clouds and can easily make himself invisible.

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778 Certain trees are worshipped on the thirteenth day of the twel .h lunar month. Generally the tree is on a hill or mountain and it is always an old tree that does not shed its leaves
782 in the winter time, such as the *nan mu* 楠木. It may not be a fir or a pine. A cock is offered in the worship of the tree which is a sort of a local deity something like the Chinese local god called a *t'u ti* 土地. It is worshipped with the belief that as a result the crops will prosper, the domestic animals will grow and increase, and hunters will be successful in the killing of wild animals. The tree is believed to heal sickness, but only when a vow is made to offer a chicken and other things if the person is healed.

The Ch'uan Miao, like the Hua Miao, have a cult of worshipping the door. At the bott .1 of the door is a thick wide board or sill which one must tep over in order to enter the house. It is this sill and the door itself, which often has two wings, which are worshipped.

The ceremony must be performed during the tenth moon. A pig is killed inside the house and offered to the door. The hair is removed, then the pig is cut into nine pieces and
264 offered raw wth wine and rice. Then the meat is cooked.
262 Before the people can eat, some soup must be dipped out with a gourd and offered to the door. Then the meat is divided and the guests enjoy a feast. The blood must be boiled and eaten.

The offering is made by the head of the family. He says, "Door, I am making an offering to you. Help us have a good crop and prosper financially and the domestic animals grow and increase. If people come, permit them, but if demons come do not let them enter." There is no kowtowing or bowing. No incense or candles are lighted and no spirit money burnt. During the ceremony the door must be closed. The pig must be killed and the whole ceremony performed inside. The offal and the hair must be buried in a hole in the floor of the kitchen. If one word of Chinese is accidentally used, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

[585] During the marriage ceremonies offerings are generally
776 made to the soil and to the ancestors who first gave grain to
782 the Miao. These are regarded and treated practically as deities. There are two great demons or devils, and possibly three. glaŋ dʒy often drowns people in creeks and rivers. He seems to be related to the Chinese river demons who are the demons of people who are drowned themselves and who try to drown others so as to escape from their demon state. Some say that dʒy means original and that glaŋ dʒy means original demon.

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THE CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

DAVID C. GRAHAM

A. INTRODUCTION TO THE FOLLOWING TRANSLATIONS OF CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

000 Among primitive peoples ceremonies are exceedingly important. They enable the tribes or ethnic groups to face in unity the crises of life, and to solve their difficulties. They bind the individuals into one psychic and emotional unity, causing them to unconsciously absorb the emotions and ideas of the group.

Ceremonials generally come down from a remote past, and are uncritically received and passed on to future generations. Through them one can learn the sentiments, beliefs, and practices of the people among whom they are found.

114 The three translations that follow are of ceremonies of the Ch'uan Miao, one of a To^{3} nA^{6} or magician who exorcises demons and thus heals disease and prevents other calamities, and two of mo^{5} or priests who conduct funerals and other memorial ceremonies. They were translated into Chinese by Mr. Hsiung Ts'ao Sung 熊朝松, now deceased, and with his assistance, by the writer into English. In this translation an attempt has been made to get back of the Chinese to the meaning in the Ch'uan Miao language, and to render this as faithfully as possible into English.

B. THE CEREMONIES OF CH'UAN MIAO *TUAN KUNG* 端公 TO^{3} NAN^{6}. THIS WAS ALL SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG CHENG TS'AI 熊正才 A FARMER OVER SIXTY YEARS OLD WHO LIVED AT WANG WU CHAI NEAR LO PIAO 洛表王武寨. HE HAD ALWAYS LIVED THE NORMAL LIFE OF A CH'UAN MIAO.

I. ARRANGEMENTS TO EXORCISE DEMONS

• 755 789 First a table is placed in the room. Incense and candles are lighted. Some vegetables and meat with gravy are used. The *tuan kung* 端公 places a pint of uncooked rice on the table and places a pair of wild ox horns in it. On his head he wears two paper horns. In his left hand he carries a brass gong. In his right he carries the stick with which to beat the gong. At the same time he burns some beeswax.

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A. The *tuan kung* stands up and sings, "The yellow wax burns, and the smoke arises. When the wax burns I will call. I will call Ntscη jin* (his helper) here to lead. I will call Ntsoη jin to come and go ahead. I will call jin tga to come and go ahead. I will call jin tga to come and lead. ηa· jin held an iron fan. jin tga held a brass fan in his hand. He fanned himself with the brass fan and thus scattered the demons by the sea. He fanned with an iron fan and thus drove the demon illnesses and groans away."

When he has repeated thus far, he beats the gong loudly.

B. "When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it smokes, the *tuan kung* goes and calls. He calls na· bo· sʌn jin to come to the front. He calls sʌn jin lɛ ts'ə to come to the front. na· bo· sʌn jin carries an iron club in his hand. sʌn jin lɛ ts'ə carries a brass club in his hand. The iron club will beat the demons of illness as the water of the sea scatters. The brass club beats the demons of illness and the demons of groans so that they go to the place where people sleep and scatter."

(At this point the *tuan kung* again beats his gong awhile.)

C. "When the beeswax burns, the incense smokes. When it smokes, I again call. I call nine thousand soldiers to come to the front. He calls upon the soldiers of 900 fortified places to come forward and bring the big guns and shoot them everywhere, and bring the spears and stand them up black (and sharp) and to shoot the big guns with their black smoke. When it looks black, I will call for the soldiers to charge. They will charge against the demons in the forest and the grass of these old people's family, to charge them down to the river on the lower bend, casting them onto the roads, the cliffs and the crossroads."

The *tuan kung* now beats the gongs awhile.

D. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it smokes, we will again come and call. We will call the scholar who controls heaven to come forward. The old scholar who controls heaven to come forward. The old scholar who controls heaven comes and looks. He looks to see if the souls (living) of this family are few or not; to see if the boys of this family are crooked or not; to see if these old people's pool is full or not; to see if the lake of these old people is clean or not. Ntsə's group of controllers of heaven came and looked at the earth; to see if the souls of the living of this family are here or not; to see if the souls of the

*Note.—Unfortunately the deaths of Hsiung Cheng Ts'ai and Hsiung Ts'ao Sung have made it impossible to check up the tones of the Miao names in this translation, so some of them have been omitted.

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bodies of this family have returned to their right bodies or not; to see if the souls of these bodies are with their bodies or not. (The *tuan kung* at this time beats the gong awhile.)

E. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will also come (the *tuan kung* will=we). He will call $na^{\cdot 9}$ $bo^{\cdot 9}$ $so^{\cdot 5}$ to come to the front. He will call the thunder god to come to the front. He will call $tga^{\cdot 5}$ Tai^{5} to come to the front (the lightning). We will call $\dot{z}e^{5}$ $so^{\cdot 5}$ and tga^{5} Tai^{5} to come to the front. $Bo^{\cdot 9}$ $so^{\cdot 5}$ came with a stir. $\dot{z}\varepsilon^{5}$ $so^{\cdot 5}$ came with a roar. $bo^{\cdot 9}$ $so^{\cdot 5}$ made a stir and came and beat the demons that cause sickness and those that cause groans. $\dot{z}\,\varepsilon^{5}$ $so^{\cdot 5}$ came roaring and shouting and chased away the demons of the forest and the grassy places. $Bo^{\cdot 9}$ $so^{\cdot 5}$ then used tga^{5} Tai^{5} and cut the demons of sickness and those of groans into halves. She cut the demon of quarrels until it perished. $\dot{z}\varepsilon^{5}$ $so^{\cdot 5}$ also brought tga^{5} Tai^{5} and cut. She cut the demons of sickness, of the forest and of the grassy places. $Bo^{\cdot 9}$ $so^{\cdot 5}$ separted men and the demons. $\dot{z}\varepsilon^{5}$ $so^{\cdot 5}$ separated the demons so that they could not see people.

(At this point the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

The demons must not come near people. $Bo^{\cdot 9}$ $so^{\cdot 5}$ took an iron hatchet. $\dot{z}\varepsilon^{5}$ $so^{\cdot 5}$ took a big stone axe in his hand. Na^{5} bo^{9} so^{5} then struck the stone cliff with her axe. $\dot{z}\varepsilon^{5}$ $so^{\cdot 5}$ will cut the stone terrace and the colored cliff. They will come and cut (with their stone axes) the dragon pool of these old people so that it will not spoil. They will cut the big rock and the stone cliff and will cut the old people's lake so that it is safe.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong.)

F. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, I will call (the *tuan kung* calls and the smoke helps him). We will call the $\dot{z}$wang tsai (the colored dragon) to bring $tsa\eta$ xAu (a leader in the dragon land). We called ninety-nine colored dragons. When the ninety-nine colored dragons came, they went into the dragon pool of this family. There are also eighty-eight colored dragons who came to control the lake of these old people so that it will not dry up.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

G. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will call again. We call $tgo^{\cdot}$ tsai (the striped tiger) to come to the front. We also call $tsai^{5}$ $gi^{\cdot 7}$ $tgo^{\cdot 7}$ $nd^{z}Au^{5}$ (a big lion) to come to the front. T o n u bit with his teeth. Tsai í t o n u bit and gnashed with his teeth. $tgo^{\cdot 7}$ $nd^{z}Au$ then stood up firmly and ate the demons of sickness and those of groans. $tsai^{5}$ $gi^{\cdot 7}$ $tgo^{\cdot 7}$ $nd^{z}Au$ came moving

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and ate the demons of sickness and the gasping demons. Then tɕo·⁷ ndᶻAu⁵ ate the demon of chills (cold diseases) and demons of blood diseases. Tsai shi tso ntsau also bit his teeth together firmly and ate the demon of coughs. When he has eaten it, he wants you old folks of this family clear about it (and without ills, etc.). They ate the demon of sickness and the demon of groans so that they could not harm people. They cannot harm the family of you old people. When the demon of the forest and those of the grasslands come they cannot injure your young people and cannot injure your garden.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

H. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When the smoke arises, we again call. We call the lady sun to come forward. We call to the moon young man to come to the front. When the lady sun has come out, it has shone; it has shone on the souls of you old people's farming and on the five grains. She will also shine on the souls of the domestic animals including cattle and horses. She also shone on the souls of your descendants. She has shone on enough to fill the house. She shone on enough to fill the central floor of the house. The souls in the center pushed out. Those on the two sides went out on each side, and some surged out through the middle door. The front and the rear were full and they went out slowly.

(At this point the *tuan kung* beats his gong a while).

I. When the beeswax burns, the smoke rises. When the smoke rises, then we again call. We call the Nts'ai hwa (girl cloud) to come from the sky above. We call ndᶻAu⁵ dʐa·⁷ (male wind) to come from the land above the sky. Nts'ai hwa came and smoked the eyes of the demons of sickness and the demons of death so they could not see. She also smoked the demons of the forest and those of the grasslands. ndᶻAu⁵ dʐa·⁷ came and blew. When he blew, the roads of sickness of this family were cut off. When he blew the sounds of the groaning and the sounds of sickness were ended. He blew the sound of the sickness into the water. They blew the demons until they were unable to grow (or live). He blew the demons of the grasslands and those of the forests and vanquished them below the white cliffs. The demons of the forests and those of the grasslands cannot come back.

(At this point the *tuan kung* again beats his gong a while).

J. When the beeswax is burning, the smoke arises. When the smoke rises, we will call again. We will call a pair of Chinese from Wu Lang Yo. (Here he beats the gong).

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When the white wax is burning, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will again come and call. We will call a Chinese *Ho Lan Tsï* to come to the front. The Chinese from Wu Lang Yo lighted the lantern and lighted things. They will lighten the soul of this family as it comes and enters the room. The two Chinese from Honan brought the lantern and lighted (the room) together. They will lighten that family's living soul as it returns to the guest room. They will lighten the way for the family's souls (of the living) half way along the road and lighten its souls as they return home. They will lighten the way for the family's souls (of the living) to half way along the road. They will lighten the souls of the family as they come back and return to their garden squares, (where the gardens are divided into squares for planting different things).

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong as usual).

II. USING THE CHINESE LANGUAGE TO SUMMON CHINESE GODS

At this time, the paper horns must be taken off the *tuan kung's* 端公 head and he does not beat the gong but merely stands up and calls or sings.

"I call the six stars of the southern dipper (cross), the seven stars of the northern dipper. In the name of *Li Lao Güin* I speak to the Great Pearly (jade) Emperor above and below to *Kuan Shih Yin* (*Kuan-Yin*) of Nan Hai."

Now he must speak the Miao language to exorcise demons.

When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will call ntsoƆ jin (a person who was once a prophet of Ntsə, a revered patron of the *tuan kung*) who lives at the foot of Ntsə's great stone called the stone bamboo sprout. Call also na· bo· sAn jin to come from Ntsə's old colored cliff. Call the ninety-nine layered cliff to come to the front. Call the mountain with eighty-eight layers to come to the front. Also call the cliff with ninety-nine layers to come and separate. Separate people into their homes and demons to the land of demons. Separate people so that they will not go near demons and demons so that they will not go near men.

III. MAKING A CONTAINER

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A large bamboo container shallow and with a flat bottom is used. In it are placed bean-curd, biscuits, wine, meat, paper (spirit) money, incense and candles. (Some put water and a little rice in a rice bowl also).

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when the head aches remove the heat (of the body) and when the body aches, it becomes cool. Drink tea, peace-giving tea. Drink the peace-giving water. Do not wait until daylight. When I say it, immediately depart. If we say it at midnight, depart at midnight. If any do not depart, I will call Rong sji'n's fire from heaven to burn you away.

(When the *tuan kung* has spoken this far, he takes the paper chain and the paper net and the paper lock and puts them all into the winnowing basket, carries them outside the door, and burns them at the crossroads).

XX. REVIVING ONE WHO HAS FAINTED

(Reviving sha—The Miao believe, like the Chinese, that there is a poisonous air called *sha ch'i* 殺氣 that kills people. When a person swoons, he has been injured by *sha ch'i* and a *tuan kung* 端公 can revive him by chasing away the demons.)

The *tuan kung* opens and holds above him an umbrella of oiled paper. He throws a handful of mustard seed. If he has no mustard seed, he throws a handful of corn. When he throws he shouts, "t'ai, t'ai," and stamps his feet. He says, "Beat the sky demon, beat the earth demon, beat the human demon. Beat the sky demon and send back (what the sky demon has brought) the sky *sha ch'i*. Beat the earth demon and send back the earth *sha* (ch'i). Beat the dead person's demons and send away the *sha* (*ch'i*) of the dead people. Beat the demon of the living people and send back living people's *sha ch'i*. Beat the year demon and send away the year *sha ch'i*. Beat the month demon and send away the month *sha*. Beat the day demon and send away the day *sha*. Beat the time demon sī hou and send away the time *sha*; beat the fierce god who wickedly kills people and turn back the great *sha ch'i* of everything. t'ai t'ai, (and he stamps with his foot), "quickly strike, quickly recede. Recede, recede. recede."

XXI. HOLDING DOWN THE FIRE STAR (MARS)

I have held (pressed) down the fire of Heaven. I have held down the fire of earth. I have pressed down the fire of the year. I have pressed down the fire of the month. I have pressed down the fire of the day. I have pressed down the fire of the moment (time). I have pressed down the fire of the central room. I have pressed down the center of the fire. I have pressed down the fire of the *yin* 陰 (the female principle). I have pressed down the fire of the *yang* 陽 (male principle). I have pressed down the fire of the sun. I have pressed down the fire that likes to kill people (without affection). I have pressed down the demon fire. I have pressed down the fire of living people. I have pressed down the drive-away-*yin* fire. I have pressed down the detain-*yang*

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789 fire (demon's fire). Leave the *yang* fire to control the home. Drive the *yin* fire to hades (where demons live). Secure *yang* fire to control the family and make it peaceful (without demons). Drive the *yin* fire to the *yin* spirit (or soul). Leave the *yang* fire to control the family so it will be peaceful. If the fire is a foot high, let water be ten feet high. If fire is ten feet high, water will flood up to heaven and hold down the fire.

(When he has reached this point, the *tuan kung* 端公 uses a bowl of water and as walks along in the house, repeating his words, he sprinkles water with his hands. When he has finished speaking, he pours out the water from the bowl and the bowl on the table upside down).

XXII. INCANTATION TO DIVINE BY MEANS OF UNCOOKED RICE

787 There is a sky pestilence and an earth pestilence so I come to report to the god. (The uncooked rice is treated and addressed as a god). If there is any unsatisfactory matter I shall come and report to the god. If the head aches and the whole body is hot, we shall come and report to the god. If there is any unworshipped demon of the *t'an shen* or ruined temples, I shall come and report to the gods. If there is any fierce god that kills people, I shall come and report to the god. If there is any grass demon, wood demon, or demon of the forest, I shall come and report to the god. If there is any fierce (murderer) I shall report the fierce matter. If there is anything hard, we shall report it. Without something important, we shall not wantonly report. Without something fierce, we shall not wantonly report.

(When the divining is done by rice, use one bowl of rice and take a cloth and cover it well. The master of the house or a sick person blows his breath three times on the rice and the *tuan kung* 端公 rubs the surface of the rice with his hand. Then when he has finished speaking, he takes the cloth off and examines the rice to see if the grains are perpendicular or horizontal and thus determines the good or ill luck of the family).

XXIII. PRESSING DOWN THE DEMON THAT PUNISHES SIN BY PAIN IN THE EYES

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758 If you bump (sin) against wood, the wood demon will enter you and harm your eyes. If you bump (sin) against wood, wood will harm you. If you bump (sin) against stone, stone will harm you. If you bump (sin) against a grave, the grave will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the stone of the cow pen, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against a stone of a stove, it will harm you. If you bump

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(sin) against the fire of the stove, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against grass, wood or stone, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against all the things in a home, they will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the eastern direction, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the western direction, it will harm you. If you bump against the north direction, it will harm you. If you bump against the west direction, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against water it will harm you and it will immediately fade away. If you bump (sin) against wood, it will fade away. From the time we have repeated this to-day, you will be well.

(While the above is being repeated, the *tuan kung* uses grass paper to sweep. When he has finished sweeping, he takes a bowl of water and cooked rice and pours it out on the ground).

XXIV. PRESSING DOWN THE DEMONS THAT CAUSE WOMEN TO LOSE THEIR CHILDREN OR TO HAVE MISCARRIAGES

After the *tuan kung* 端公 has called the gods, then he must repeat the following and it will enable her to normally give birth to babies and to bring them up. He must actually hold or press down the demons. After he has done this, he worships the gods and the men and women of the family must worship. He says:

"The sky sinned against the sky monkey and neither the moon nor the sun shone any more. The earth sinned against the earth monkey and the grass and trees would not grow. If a person sins against the monkey that climbs the cliffs, he will dry up. To-day I will free you from this and you will immediately get well."

XXV. PREPARING SIX HORSES AND BRIDGE BEAMS FOR THE SICK

As the method of arranging the bridges, you must use 12 feet of cloth and arrange it well, and four stools, one above the other. The *tuan kung* uses a brass gong and alternately beats it and speaks. He says:

"The difficult bridge and the six horses are spoilt. I will protect the sick person. When the three *kan* 关 and the seven *p'o* 关 come upon the bridge, I will wear an iron hat on my head."

(He will put the brass gong on his head and pretend that he is wearing a hat. On his feet he is supposed to wear iron-topped boots. He brings the brass gong and pretends to put on shoes. He should wear brass armor also, and he uses the brass gong to imitate this).

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789 "Come and lead a thousand soldiers and horses and 19,000 fortresses."

755 "Soldiers and horses come upon the bridge. The rest may be repeated like the first one in this book."

XXVI. CALLING WATER TO BECOME DIVINE FOR THE GODS TO DRINK

789 Use a bowl or a pot and put water inside. Cover it with three sheets of paper and a piece of cloth. The *tuan kung* 端公 repeats:

"Ntsɘ's water in heaven is called the water from the river in heaven brought by the prince of heaven. The old man of the earth brought water of the earth below and from the creek he brings water of the rivers and seas. From the home he takes incense fire and beeswax fragrant water. From the rice field he brings water of the rice-plants. Ntsɘ Gjin brought water to destroy demons."

XXVII. CALLING WATER TO EXORCISE DEMONS

(Spoken in Chinese).

"Water is the source of the heaven and the earth, the foundation of all living things, widely cultivating people's happiness, used by people in heaven and on earth, inside and outside. For tao 道 learning,* you are reverenced and your body has marvellous light to protect our bodies so that seeing we do not see, hearing we do not hear, and you can protect us in heaven and on earth and nourish all our lives, and propagate it a thousand times. You are bright. Heaven and earth will come and wait upon and protect you. In ancient times *Wu Ti* 武帝 would welcome you. All gods of virtue will come and worship you. It uses the thunder and lightning. Demons and spooks will lose their courage. Your learning *tao* will last forever. I have also called you. Without affairs you stabilize space and control people."

(When this is finished the *tuan kung* 端公 takes water and sprinkles it in all directions and says the following in Chinese."

"When I sprinkle this once, above it pacifies fire calamities. (Lest fire break out). When I sprinkle this a second time, below it will pacify cave demons. When I sprinkle the third time, in the center it will avoid calamities. When I sprinkle the fourth time, there will be peace among men."

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*This is the Chinese word *tao* 道 and of course the meaning is far more inclusive than the English term "learning". To the Ch'uan Miao interpreter it seemed that the word "learning" came very near to what *tao* means to the Ch'uan Miao.

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789 head of a rapid. Stop the Yellow River. Above, stop the Yellow River's *shuang ho ching* 雙河井 (double river well). Below, stop the two gates (mouths) of the Yellow River. He blows his breath three times and pinches the (open sore) together. The *tuan kung* opens his eyes and lifts up his head to see the clear sky. The one who has taught me (this) by word of mouth, come before my eyes. Mr. Huang, who have taught me, if I call you a thousand times, let it be efficacious (bring an answer) a thousand times and if I call you ten thousand times, answer ten thousand times.

XXIX. TO REMOVE BONES OR METAL OBJECTS THAT HAVE BEEN SWALLOWED

789 I lift up my eyes and lift up my eyes to see the clear
755 sky. The instructor who taught me with his own mouth is before my eyes. I ask my teacher for a bowl of water. The teacher has nine dragons in the bowl. The water of the throat of the nine dragons (is in the bowl). When gold, silver, copper, iron, or pewter touches this water, it is turned into dirt. I obey the command of tsai ʦin ʦai lau, order you to swallow a bone and transform the bone, and to swallow brass and transform the brass, and to swallow bone dust and transform it to bone pills like (as easy as) the nine dragons entering the deep rapid. My breath of virtue endures long. If there is copper, transform copper. If there is no copper, do not transform the flesh. If there is bone, iron, pewter, or nails, you must transform them. If there are none of these, do not transform the (person's) flesh. I obey this command; immediately transform.

(When the incantation has been completed, the patient must drink the water the *tuan kung* has secured.)

XXX. EXORCISING THE DEMON THAT CAUSES PAIN IN THE NIPPLES

He repeats the incantation saying, "The baby drinks the milk laughing. Why have you come to me? I reply, The nipple is helpless. It is pitiful. I request you not to let people rub your nipples to cure you. If the pain is in the left, heal the left nipple. If the pain is in the right, cure the right. Rub the left and the pain of the left will depart. If we rub the right, (the pain in) the right will depart. If it still does not depart, I will take (the pain) away.

(The *tuan kung* uses the second and third fingers and he traces on the nipple, then she is well.* When he has taken away (the demon), he again asks the milk to come out).

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*This tracing resembles the one below:

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The milk must not accumulate (at one spot). The milk must not delay. When he calls you, you must come out at once.

XXXI. EXORCISING THE DEMON THAT CAUSES BOILS

I invite the thunder god, I invite the thunder goddess, I invite the Chinese medicine god, and also invite the Patriarch of the Lamas, and the teacher who removes water (out of one's body) and grows broken bones together, the upright teacher, the teacher who removes fever, the teacher who removes swellings, the teacher who stops the flow of blood and stops pains: the Patriarch among the snow mountains, the young lady among the snow mountains, the Crown Prince among the snow mountains.* At the first watch much snow falls. At the second watch a heavy frost falls. At the third watch it becomes very cold. At the fourth watch, frost is again added on top of the snow. At the fifth watch the bantam (golden) rooster will report (that) daylight (has come). This place has been transformed into a snow mountain plot. The dragons come. The dragons display their claws. The tigers come. The tigers display their bodies. When the tiger comes, the skin of the tiger will recede. When the dragon comes, the bones of the dragon will recede. The water of snow stops blood and stops pains and causes fevers to disappear and removes swellings and grows broken bones together. It sets dislocated bones (joints) so they can grow flesh, and grows together holes in the flesh. I, ʒin Ntɕoɔ ʒɛdgi, come and bear witness. If you call me a hundred times, then it is efficient a hundred times. When you have taken (the demon) away, then (the boil) will be well.

XXXII. INCANTATION TO HEAL BOILS

Black, black and bright, bright. (On one hand black, on the other bright). The sun is coming out in the east. Ntsɔ² ɔgAu² go⁵ with Ntsɔ² nts'ai⁵ ʒwɛi⁶† came to cure boils (by taking away the demons). First, healing them so they will not swell. Secondly, healing them so they will not be painful. Thirdly, healing them so they will not discharge pus. Fourthly, healing them so they will not bleed. If there is something fierce, remove the fierce (thing). If there is swelling, remove the swelling. Do not let this time pass. (When he has spoken thus, he uses his second and fourth

*The meaning here is evidently that one snow mountain is the patriarch, another is a young lady, and a third is a Crown Prince among the other snow mountains, all of which are living beings.

†Ntsɔ² ɔgAu² go⁵ is a golden boy or girl.

Ntsɔ² nts'ai⁵ ʒwei⁶ is a stone girl.

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789 fingers and traces a circle (spiral) on the boil.† When he has drawn this he repeats the incantation again.)

755 First, we have turned around the sky and the earth. Secondly, we have turned around the sun and the moon. The third turn and pus will not come out. The fourth turn and blood will not come out. If there is something fierce, then we will remove the fierce. If there is swelling we will remove it. I will add the bugle of the gods and the bronze bells, an iron axe, a brass finger ring, and an iron finger ring to remove (the boil). (When he has finished saying this, he again traces the spiral.)

XXXIII. INCANTATION TO PURIFY THE HOUSE AFTER A DEATH DURING THE MONTH

789 The heaven and the earth are as a matter of course and the poisonous air. The cave is empty. Huang Lang T'ai Hsüan* the majestic god of the eight directions cause me to be (as a matter of course) unmolested, spiritual precious and charm commands to broadly report to the nine heavens. Lei Kan Lo Tang Lo and Tong Kang T'ai Hsüan behead spooks and tie up the demoniacal and kill 10,000 demons. The incantations of the gods in the mountains of the Primary Literary God. I repeat one section and I will capture demons and protect one's years, and arrange the five hells and know the eight seas. The demon king's hands are tied and 1000 soldiers come and help me. The fierce and unclean will disappear and the breath of *tao* 道氣 will last long.

(While he is repeating the above the *tuan kung* 端公 holds a broom in his hand and he holds a piece of cloth in his hand which must be white and twelve feet long, and he sweeps it around. He lights a torch and goes around the house to lighten and smoke it up to make it impossible (by the light) to see the demon and chase out the demon forms.)

XXXIV. THE WATER OF THE NINE DRAGONS (THIS WATER CAN HEAL COLDS IN THE HEAD)

789 755 Use a bowl of water and draw charms above it. Put it on a table. Use a live rooster. You must have a piece of white cloth or black or dark blue; do not use red cloth. And a knife is needed and clean wine. Get them ready, then repeat this incantation. With the finger a dragon should be traced above the water while the person is repeating the incantation. With the two hands three knots must be twisted. The incantation follows:

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†The spiral is like this ◉

*These are Chinese names, so they are romanized according to Chinese sounds. The Chinese characters could not be secured.

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I lift up my eyes and lift up my head to see the clear sky. The teacher who taught me with his mouth is before my eyes. I want a bowl of water fron Ntsə's sky. In the water are nine dragons. This water is from the throat of the nine dragons which can transform gold, silver, brass and iron. When they touch the water they will be changed to dirt. Obey the command of Nts'ə in heaven, swallow and transform brass, swallow iron and transform it. (If there is a cold, I will transform the cold.) I also swallow bone dust and transform it to bone pills, as the nine dragons going down steep rapids. I have *tao* 道 and my life will endure long.

When he has repeated thus far with his left hand he lifts up the bowl of water and with his right hand he draws a large dragon on the water. Then he gives the water to the sick person to drink.

XXXV. THE NINE DRAGONS TRANSFORM BONES AND WATER THAT DRIVE AWAY COLDS OR HELP IN CHILD-BIRTH

"I lift up my eyes and look at the clear, blue sky. Before my eyes is my instructor. I call the instructor Tsang the *tuan kung* and I also invite Ntsə²'s Taη^{x} $\gamma\varepsilon^{5}$ glo^{6} in heaven. He has a bone which is a pill to cure colds. To-day will escort you to the Nine Dragon Rapid. There is another bone that is a pill to transform colds. I myself will escort you to the Nine Dragon Rapid. Brass, iron, colds and fevers will be transformed into water. Pewter things and bamboo things will be changed into dust. All illnesses will be transformed into water. Indigestion and malaria will be transformed into dust. In front it is empty. Behind it is empty. It will be transformed until it is without appearance. You ferry me teacher so that I can creep into Ntsə's heaven."

The *tuan kung* 段公 twists his hands into a nine-dragon turn over their bodies' knot. He also says,

"This water is not common water. This water is water to make peaceful births and transform demons. This water is not ordinary water. This water is water to exorcise spooks and transform strange demons. When I have finished I draw pictures (with the hands) over the water and everything will be prosperous and well.

C. MEMORIAL AND OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

THESE WERE SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG TZŬ NIANG 熊子良 A CH'UAN MIAO FARMER FAMOUS AS A PRIEST OF MO WHO LIVES AT CHAO CHIA LING 趙家林 NEAR WANG WU CHAI 王武寨 AND IS OVER FIFTY YEARS OLD.

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engagement is made. There is generally no love between the bride and the groom unless it is after marriage. Love affairs, which are many, are often between a man and another man's wife or between a woman and another woman's husband. Sometimes lovers run away together, after which go-betweens endeavor to obtain the consent of the bride's parents, and the gift to her parents must be made as usual. Marriage by capture is not unknown. Strange to say, women rather like this method, for it shows that the man loves or esteems the woman, and it often results in a happy marriage.

There are no physicians, although some persons are reputed to know more about medicines and healing than others, and the efficacy of the medicines has not yet been scientifically investigated. The common belief is that all diseases and other calamities are caused by demons, which must be exorcised by the *do nun* or *tuan kung*, who is a magician or shaman. He has a formula for every disease, and besides using ceremonies and incantations to exorcise the demons that cause diseases or other calamities, he performs many real wonders, among which are treading with bare feet on a red-hot plowshare and touching his tongue to the same, spitting or spurting hot oil out of his mouth onto a fire to cause a larger blaze, and with bare feet walking over a ladder of sharp swords. It is not strange that the death rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high.

The Ch'uan Miao theory of filial piety and of the relation of mutual helpfulness between the deceased ancestors and their descendants corresponds fairly closely to that of the Chinese. The deceased ancestors are believed to be in need of the same things that they need on this earth before death, such as food, clothing, houses, and money, and these are provided by the loyal descendants through the ceremonial offerings. In return the ancestors help and protect their descendants so that they may prosper.

Soon after death the *mo* or priest three times calls on the soul of the dead to return or arise, and when it does not do so he performs a ceremony to open the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades, or to paradise, which is called the ancient level land of Ntzi, the supreme but not the only god. The priest kills a rooster, and the soul of the rooster leads the soul of the dead person to paradise.

Some time after the *mo* has opened the way for the soul of the deceased to go to paradise, there is a procession. In front is a man whirling a stick. He is followed by two men playing the *liu sheng* and dancing, then two blowing water-buffalo horns, two carrying green bamboo twigs, and finally two men with guns. Inside the house a ceremonial drum is beaten. This ceremony is symbolic of the fact that in ancient times their ancestors lived in the forest where there were dangerous wild animals.

During the funeral ceremonies a bull or a male water buffalo is killed and partly cooked, and some or all of it is offered to the ancestors. Then the meat is thoroughly cooked and there is a feast. Friends and relatives enjoy the feast, but the descendants of the deceased do not then eat any of the meat.

Generally on the next night after the bull is killed a dance is performed by the strongest young men inside the house. It takes place in front of the ceremonial

[7 cont.]

844 4) Childbirth. The Miao-I people are physically very sturdy: their ability to procreate and their capacity for farm work are both great. The women too have to attend to house chores, being especially strong and fit, they regard childbirth as a common occurrence. When a married woman is pregnant [843] she has to be confined in her husband's house. At the time of childbirth she is attended by her mother-in-law or sister-in-law or sometimes she is just by herself. The umbilical cord is broken by means of a piece of stone, and the sac is placed in an earthen jar and buried underground or hung up high in the room. The baby is then washed with cold water. The mother 846 remains at home for a week, after which she goes up the hill to gather firewood or down the field to cultivate the land without further inhibition or recuperation. They are afraid to have 847 too many children and often get rid of them by drowning or simply killing them. It is said that when children are numerous there will be disputes over inheritance and litigations. [8] Moreover, if the parents have no property, the acquisition of many children means so much hard work to bring them up. So whether there is money or not in the family, to have children means added suffering and privation to the parents, who are therefore reluctant to have too many. Because of the prevalence [165] of infanticide the rate of childbirth is decreasing. This and the high mortality rate combine to endanger the growth of their population.

164 5) Disease. Due to the difficulties of livelihood the Miao-I cannot afford the facilities of health and sanitation. Their hardihood enables them to survive the cold seasons of winter and spring when little disease prevails. But summer and autumn are the seasons of ill health. In case of sickness there are no medical facilities in the Miao-I areas, and the patient is left to the mercy of nature or magic. Sometimes a mi-la [diviner] 755 or a kuei-shih [shaman priest] is asked to propitiate the ghost. Mi-la is also known as "mi-p'o," and kuei-shih as "tuan-kung." The patient's family first asks the diviner to ascertain the kind of evil spirit that is causing the trouble and the kind of animal most appropriate for sacrifice. Then the wizard priest is asked

[8 cont.]

755 to perform the ritual. Collusion between the two is common, and the ignorant people are made victims. These ghost affairs, however, often have a psychological effect and little ailments are sometimes healed this way. But in nine out of ten serious cases death is the only outcome. Their superstition is so deep-
[753] rooted that they think all diseases are caused by spirits who have to be appeased. Death is considered a destiny, and the living resign
[761] themselves to fate. Every year when diseases are prevalent in all hsien areas in Kweichow, the diviners and the priests do a thriving trade that unfortunately causes innumerable deaths. What a pity!

6) Vices. Kweichow is an opium producing province. The
276 opium growers are the Miao-I, but they themselves detest this drug, and those among them who smoke opium are extremely rare. Even cigarette-smokers are few. But there is a kind of tobacco, locally produced, which is favored by all. When they are not at work, whether sitting down leisurely or walking in the street, they would smoke unceasingly the pipe tobacco. They
273 are fond of wine; men and women, old and young, derive pleasure from liquor and encourage each other to drink more, their breath reeking of alcohol. There are two kinds of spirits; a strong wine made from corn and mixed grains, and a white wine distilled from glutinous rice. The quality of both is mediocre and the taste ordinary, but they relish them with delight.

7) Recreation. The Miao-I in Kweichow are mostly farmers
517 who live apart in wild mountains and lone valleys under difficult and strenuous circumstances. They work so hard [9] that if they do not seek some kind of amusement, life would be entirely devoid of pleasure. So all groups of Miao-I emphasize recreations, which take place in between farming periods, such as the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument] dance, the flower dance, market dance, moon dance, chasing the moon, sitting in the moon, singing, yao-ma-lang [or kan-piao, love-making], bull fight and horse racing. Among these the liu sheng dance,
[527] flower dance, market dance, bull fight and horse racing are held periodically in a fixed location according to precedents. The

[10 cont.]

585 a horse saddle to gain entrance through the gate. After the send-off party leaves, the bride's family immediately slaughters a pig or two, to carry to the groom's house as a send-off gift. That day friends and relatives float in like clouds to offer congratulations. The groom's family puts rice straw on the floor of the cow stall and spreads feasts to entertain the guests. Day or night they would not stop feasting until drunk. That night no one sleeps. The bride does not share the groom's room. The guests from the bride's family and the friends of the groom's family join in a song fest. The following day or the third day the bride returns home with her companions, and the host dispenses cash presents to all the members of the bridal party. The other guests stay on to partake of the farewell feast. After her
591 return the bride stays with her parents for a month or fortnight, and has to be welcomed back to her new home by her husband. But the girl's family would keep the son-in-law as a house guest for several days before sending the young couple away. After a short stay the bride goes back again to live with her mother, and only on New Year, at festivals and harvest times, would she accompany her husband home to stay for a few days as a guest of his family. It is only after the children are born that she lives permanently with him. One month after the birth of the first
852 child there would be a feast, and the wife's family [11] would
431 send along some baby clothes and, in case of a wealthy family, also cows and pigs. Those who have received cash gifts from the husband's family at the wedding would now give in return baby's bedding and clothing as well as chicken and duck eggs. Friends and relatives would each carry with him a sheng [a
[804] measure equivalent to 31.6 cubic inches] of rice and a jug of wine to partake in a feast provided by the host, who would slaughter cattle or buy pork and beef from the market for the occasion.

764 2) Funeral. The funeral rituals of the various Miao-I
[755] groups in Kweichow are more or less similar. Due to their belief in spirits, they resort to wizardry for the expulsion of evil spirits in case of sickness, but they would never take any medicine with the result that nine out of ten cases of serious sickness end in death. A man who dies of old age is given funeral rites at

[26 cont.]

774 ghost, the sand-throwing ghost [27], the shadow ghost, the half-
776 way ghost, the ghost of pestilence, the soul-infatuating ghost, the passing ghost, the four-path Buddha-ghost, the idle ghost, the short-legged ghost and the wall ghost. Among all these ghosts the thunder spirit and the tiger ghost are the most wicked and the most awesome. This belief is evidently influenced by geographic environments. Living in high precipitous mountains under primitive conditions, these people cannot help being struck with fear each time thunder roars and lightning flashes. Furthermore, in the thick and deep forests, fierce animals inspire additional awe in them. All these objects being so terrible in their physical form; their spirit form must be even more mysterious and frightening. Another point worthy of notice is the fact that the
177 gods they worship are greatly influenced by the Chinese. For
776 instance, the Jade Emperor, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Kwan-ti and Yo Fei are not native gods of the Hê Miao. The tablet of Shen-nung erected by farmers next to their ancestral tablets, the God of Wealth worshipped by merchants, Lo Pan [a clever artisan of the spring and autumn period] worshipped by artisans, T'ai-shang lao-chün [title of Laotzu, here considered as a supreme Taoist god] worshipped by blacksmiths, Lei-tsu [traditionally, wife of the yellow emperor and originator of sericulture] worshipped by weavers -- all these come from Chinese sources.

756 In their intercourse with the spirits they need a medium, who is the shaman or wizard. The position of the priest among the Short-skirt Hê Miao is not hereditary, and politically and socially it does not command any special respect and authority. Anyone who feels that a spirit has seized hold of him becomes spiritually possessed and may proclaim himself a shaman. After this proclamation he would be professionally approached. There is no limitation of age for the priest. Some women too assume the role of a shaman, but they are comparatively rare. An ordinary village would have at least one priest, and a larger village, two or three. The duties of a priest may be enumerated as follows:

755 1) To attend to sickness. In the eyes of primitive peoples,
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[27 cont.]

756 all diseases are caused by evil spirits, and to expel them is to
755 rid oneself of the diseases. In case of slight indisposition one's family members would burn incense and paper to drive away the wild ghost. But in case of serious sickness [28] the evil workings of an important ghost are presumed and it is necessary to get hold of a priest to slaughter an animal and to employ magic in order to achieve the desired end.

756 2) To pray for a son. If man is without a child at the age
842 of forty-three or forty-four he can ask a priest to appeal to the Jade Emperor for a son (the Miao do not believe in the Son-awarding Bodhisattva), or to enter the mountain to pray to a huge rock, the spirit of which is said to be able to award a child. So, in the second and the tenth month, incense is burned continuously to the rock spirit. At the time of worship two bowls of glutinous rice, five or six sticks of red incense, eight to sixteen fish as well as candles and paper money are used.

756 3) To arrest the soul. If a person is pale, thin and
774 dispirited or overtaken by serious sickness without being able to
[787] get up, the conclusion is that it is an omen of the impending departure of the soul. A priest is engaged to appear before Yen-wang (the king of Hades) to arrest the soul and bring it back. In so doing, it is necessary to slaughter a pig for sacrifice before Yen-wang. After the soul is arrested all the relatives contribute from ten or twenty cents to a dollar or two toward a fund for the making of a necklace or a bracelet, called respectively the life-preserving chain or the hundred-family lock, for wear by the stricken person. At the same time a string of bamboo rings is hung crosswise at the gate together with a piece of charm to indicate that the soul is locked in and prevented from escaping again. Sometimes, a bad harvest is also attributed to the disappearance of the soul, and the priest is asked to slaughter a duck to summon it back.

756 4) To arrest the ghost. In cooking rice, when the pan
[787] shrieks, or when the bucket in which the rice is steamed issues a shrilling sound, it indicates the presence of a ghost. The priest is asked to slaughter a cow for sacrifice, because this ghost is the thunder demon, the greatest of all ghosts, and to

/72 cont./

881 The menstruating Meau girl is ashamed and tries to find out from her mother whether she is ill; she is also reticent about talking with other adults. The mother explains the facts of life to the girl, unless this has already been done by older playmates, as is usually the case. Boys naturally turn to their fathers with questions about sex.

[157] Girls as well as boys at the time of puberty become introspective, often seem absent-minded, and gradually withdraw more and more from the children's group, for which they have less and less time since they are put to work to an increasing extent. At the beginning of this period the adolescents avoid [572] the other sex; friendships between those of the same sex arise instead. The adolescents often develop an extravagant attachment to older persons of the same sex.

[774] This behavior, especially the apparent absent-mindedness, disturbs the parents. Soon it is said that the soul has left the body [756] and that evil spirits prevent it from returning. One sends for the [755] shaman, who begins his conjurations. /Ill. 18-21 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /73/ which make an extremely strong impression upon the adolescents.

887 836 Very soon, however, their attitude changes and strikes out in the opposite direction. The pubescent Meau then seeks contacts with the other sex; they tend to stay away from members of their own sex, but especially from the younger children, and attach themselves to adults. It is not long before the girl, prompted by the older boys, begins an open flirtation, which usually leads to sexual surrender. The pubescent boys also seek sexual intercourse and approach the older, still unmarried girls, but never married women (see the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," in this chapter). They follow the older boys on their pursuit of girls and try to watch them and it is not long before they, too, are experienced in all phases of love-making (see the section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter).

883 [515] The pubescent Meau begin to pay attention to cleanliness and wash themselves several times a month. They think a great deal about their future. They picture their home,

[Text continues on p. 112].

AKha A07
Miao AE5

M /73 cont./
883 consider which partner they could marry, and, in short, no longer live only in the present. They are entirely satisfied
M with the way of life prescribed by the sib laws. There are
[578] never any disputes between the generations. On the contrary, the young people treat the older ones with veneration and respect, and it never occurs to them to criticize existing institutions.

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869 Similarly, their attitude toward religious matters does not change. Since early childhood these matters have played
● 755 a major role in their lives (see the chapter, "Religion and
771 Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). They have re-
[883] peatedly seen the shaman drive away evil spirits and believe that in doing so he has freed other children, and perhaps themselves, of these spirits and therefore of sicknesses (see the chapter, "Medicine"). Moreover, they have heard that in case of the death of a child, the shaman was weaker than the evil spirits. They do not doubt for a moment the existence of such spirits, whose activity and effect have been so strikingly and obviously demonstrated, for the death of a child always makes a lasting impression upon his playmates.

A /74/ Things are somewhat different among the Akha.
881 Probably as a result of premature sexual intercourse (see the
[886] section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter), the actual beginning of puberty brings with it only slight psychological changes.

A The pubescent Akha give no thought to the past or the
881 future. They do not criticize, but rather are completely satis-
883 fied with the way the adults regulate life. Similarly there is no criticism among them concerning the traditions and even less about religious matters, which in general do not play
A nearly as decisive a role as among the Meau. An exaggerated
[776] fear of the spirits is as unknown to the adolescents as to the
[781] adults. There is no period of passivity or of intense activity, no withdrawal or shame on the part of girls menstruating for the first time. The pubescent Akha for the most part have long been informed, and they therefore expect the advent of puberty with all the accompanying circumstances. There is no daydreaming or introspection among them. With the increase

/158 cont./

A M 771 The missionary Telford (1) calls the Akha "perhaps the most superstitious people in the state of Kengtung." According to our experience, the Akha, like all lower agriculturalists, have strong religious ties, but not nearly to the extent that the Meau have, in spite of the fact that the religion of the Akha, like that of the Meau, is definitely ancestor and spirit worship.

1. Page 98.

a) Ideas about Death and the Soul

M 761 776 The Meau regard sickness as well as the activity of evil spirits as causes of death. In their view, it may happen that in clearing land for a new rice field a tree in which a spirit dwells may be felled. Now the latter is angry at the human being who robbed him of his dwelling and kills him. Even if one should visit a spot in the forest which happens to shelter a spirit the latter regards this as a disturbance and seeks revenge on the intruder. It is therefore not surprising that a female shaman whose three sons had been the victims of an epidemic became convinced that she had built her house on a spot inhabited by an evil spirit who had taken revenge for it.

M 774 The Meau believe in an immortal soul, plī, which can have many shapes and leaves a sleeping human being in order to /159/ wander about invisibly. This causes dreams, for the experiences of the wandering soul become known to the sleeper in the dream. It generally returns to the body when the person awakens, but it may also happen that evil spirits hold the soul in captivity and prevent it from returning to the body. Then illness occurs, and if incantations are of no avail, death follows.

[753 776 761 755]

M 774 775 614 Every person has a soul. If a person dies, his soul is reborn in the next child of the family or the sib. Souls have no sex, for it does not matter what sex the next child of the sib is; even distinguished men may thus be reborn in the body of a girl. Accordingly, there is no judgement of good and evil human beings in the other world; the soul has nothing to expect other than that it will be reborn as soon as a new child of the

/177 cont./

428 752 The young shaman chosen by his father does not have to go through any kind of preparatory period or apprenticeship. This is actually unnecessary since his abilities depend on the will of the spirits, and the duties of a shaman have been familiar to him since childhood through his observation of his father's activities.

752 787 [775] It is the task of the shaman to learn the wishes of the ancestors and spirits and to make them known to human beings. The shaman, however, can call on not only the ancestors, but also the souls of dead strangers. Through them he receives information with which he may, for instance, clear up a crime. On the other hand, he cannot induce them to change their dwellings /178/ or influence them in any other way. It is also impossible for the shaman to bewitch human beings or to do other evil deeds by means of his supernatural powers, just as he cannot influence the weather. On the other hand, in addition to other duties which will be discussed below, the shaman has the task of driving away evil spirits that make the houses and fields of human beings unsafe or those by whom human beings are possessed.

Fig. 40 Fabric cross of the Meau. 1/15 nat. size. Worn sewed on the back of the jacket of the shamans.

752 [754] [789]

752 755 789 [822] Exorcism is practiced with very simple means. Since the spirits always have a special liking or dislike for certain colors, the shaman ascertains, after an appropriate ceremony, which color in particular the spirit that possesses a human being rejects. Accordingly he has a cross of black, white, or red cloth sewed on the back of the clothes of the one possessed, since these are the colors that come under consideration. In the long run the spirit is unable to bear the odious color and seeks another abode, whereupon the one possessed is cured.

There is still another method of spirit-exorcism. The one possessed must sit down on the ground, and the shaman conjures [787] his teacher-spirit, the ancestors, and the three pairs of assistant spirits. Then he commands the evil spirit to leave the body of [778] the sick person, over whose head he clashes together the magic

/178 cont./

756 wooden swords (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] Usually the desired effect takes
755 place immediately, the Meau believe. If the wooden swords
789 should not prove to be effective enough, one makes use of swords
[778] of iron or bronze (Fig. 55).[1] Thereupon the evil spirits are said to leave the human being immediately.

756 The conjuration of the teacher-spirit and the assistant
787 spirits takes place as follows: the shaman invokes his teacher-spirit and beseeches him to appear with his three pairs of assistant spirits, whereupon he is convinced that they all enter into him. Next he places four incense candles, one each for the teacher-spirit and the three pairs of assistants, on the
[782] altar of the house and lights them. Four small bowls of tea as a sacrifice are put beside the candles. Then the shaman sits down in front of the altar, either on the ground or on a bench
[534] placed there. Now he strikes the magic rattle, which he holds in his left hand, rhythmically against his knees and moves his upper body forward and /179/ backward, while those men at whose request the conjuration is being performed slowly and steadily beat on small bronze gongs. After these preparations have been made, the shaman begins his conjuration and asks the spirit to appear and to enter his body. As soon as this has taken place, he falls into a trance, loses consciousness, and starts to tremble all over his body. Sometimes he jumps upon the bench in magical agitation and begins to act like a madman. Immediately his assistants and persons chosen for this purpose from among the onlookers start holding him, for his behavior indicates that he is fighting evil spirits that are trying to take possession of him.

It may happen that in this struggle he throws himself to the ground and thrashes about in such a way that he cannot be restrained anymore, and he then rolls through the door into the stables. Soiled from head to foot with the dung of the domestic animals, he convulsively utters disconnected words, for the spirits are speaking through him. Every word is given the fullest

[1] [see cat 116, p 287 - ANALYST]

/179 cont./

attention and is interpreted. It is a shorter or longer time before he again awakes from the trance state, depending on how hard a struggle is required in his fight against the evil spirits. In easy cases, he immediately returns to consciousness, but it may take a day or longer before he awakens. It is striking that, even after the shaman has regained normal consciousness, he remembers everything that the spirits said to him.

Aside from the sacrifices for the spirits that have to be made in the presence of the shaman, there are five things included among the obligations of the shaman: 1. as in the case described, he has to cure sicknesses by exorcising the evil spirits to whom their origin is traced, 2. he must predict the future, especially with regard to whether some work that has been undertaken will be accompanied by success or misfortune, 3. he interprets omens and 4. dreams which a person is unable to explain himself, 5. he must make charms and sacral signs (Ill. 97). As compensation for his work, he receives a piece of silver for cases of serious illness, but if the sick person is a member of the sib of the shaman, nothing is paid. The prediction of the future or of success or misfortune costs only about a quarter /180/ of this amount, as does the interpretation of omens. In lieu of silver money, food, opium, cloth, and the like may be given.

As was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, was sick. His worried father complained to me that Lü, his good son, had lost his soul, which had left his body. The shaman had already tried twice to call it back, but in vain. I heard the plea for help in the words of the distressed father, and moreover I knew that several days before Lü had followed a wounded gaur deep into the malaria-ridden lowlands and had even spent the night there. My diagnosis was therefore made quickly, and an examination confirmed my suspicion. Lü had tropical malaria. I was equally anxious to help the worried father and to justify the confidence of the chief, which he was at the same time. Moreover, I did not want to lower the shaman's prestige by my success, but

[see cat 116, p663 - ANALYST]

/180 cont./

123 rather hoped to gain his friendship completely and not only
755 observe the course of the ceremony, but, if possible, record it
[124] with my Contax. I asked the chief to persuade the shaman to make another attempt and promised to link my efforts with his. I would set up my apparatus and hoped, with the help of the smoke of my flash bulbs, to conjure up my spirits and to enlist their help in saving Lü.

This gave my wife and me the opportunity to observe in detail the activity of all the participants in such a ceremony.

755 At about eleven o'clock the shaman came and asked for a
782 small amount of opium, which he began to smoke, while in the
[276] house the preparations for the ceremony were made. An altar (Figs. 41 and 43) was erected for the teacher-spirit of the shaman and the three pairs of assistants, and a bench was placed in front of it, over which a cover was spread so that the shaman would have a soft seat. Soon afterwards, a small vessel with incense candles stood on the altar. A small fat-burning lamp of brass was
[354] polished, filled with lard, and lighted, for the spirits need light, just as human beings do. There was rice on green leaves, roasted maize kernels on others, and a porcelain bowl filled with water stood ready, as well as a large quantity of spirit-money with a spirit-valve of thousands of pieces of silver (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50).
755 Then the house was swept clean, and directly /181/ behind the
787 bench in front of the altar a fireplace was erected, with which all was ready for the conjuration.

Beside this fireplace, the patient, the eldest son of the chief, and the latter himself now take their places, while the other members of the household, who have gradually assembled, stay in the back of the room. The shaman steps in front of the
[782] altar decorated with spirit-paper, lights four incense candles for his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits, and sets out for them four small bowls of tea and as many of rice. He then picks up a small bronze gong, to which are fastened two bundles of cloth strips (Fig. 30). The red signifies that menstru-
[822] ating women, the black that those who have given birth and
[841] have not yet menstruated, are neither to be present nor to see the instrument, for otherwise the spirits would not let themselves be conjured.

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The shaman stands with the gong between the altar and the bench for about five minutes and beats it, and then turns to the door of the house and repeats the procedure in order to ward off the evil spirits. From a small wooden box brought with him, he takes a black cloth, ceremoniously unties his turban, winds it again, and fastens this cloth to it, but for the time being he throws it back over the turban so that his face remains free. Later on, it is to cover the shaman's face, for only in this way can he see the spirits.

Meanwhile, however, he takes two oracle /Ordal, literally "ordeal," but used in the sense of "oracle" /horns from the same wooden box that held the cloth. They are usually the [237] tips of gaur horns or the ends of deer antlers cut in half lengthwise. The shaman sits down on the bench, bends forward toward the altar and throws the oracle horns to the ground, studies their position (Ill. 99), picks them up again, and throws them again until the backs of both are uppermost. This indicates that the invoked spirit is willing to appear. Every other variation in the position of the oracle horns also has its meaning:

If the inner sides of both oracle horns are uppermost: the spirit is already present.

If the inner side of the left horn and the outer side of the right one are uppermost: an evil spirit has come along and must first be driven away before the conjuration of the good spirit may begin.

/182/ If the inner side of the right horn and the outerside of the left one are uppermost, it means: an evil spirit is more powerful than the good one who would be willing to help the shaman, and therefore he cannot help the patient.

In this most unfavorable situation, the shaman throws the oracle horns once again in order to ask whether the catastrophe cannot be averted. If now the inner sides of both oracle horns are uppermost, it might still be possible for him to cure the patient. If the unfavorable omen is repeated, however, all efforts are in vain, and the sick person will die.

1 [see cat 116, p664 - ANALYST]

/182 cont./

755 787 [782] All those present tensely watch the horn oracle, which finally indicates a favorable outcome. Then Chief Tsin Tsai steps forward with the sick son and the eldest son, all three kneel down on the ground before the shaman, facing the altar, fold their hands in prayer in the manner of devout Catholics, and beseech the spirits to come and to help. Now the two sons step back, and the chief picks up the gong and begins to beat it. In the meantime, the shaman covers his face with the black cloth so as to be able to see the spirits as soon as they appear. With his left hand he reaches for the magic rattle (see the chapter, "Art," Fig. 31), sits down on the bench in front of the altar, stamps with both feet, simultaneously to the rhythm of the gong beats, and, in the same rhythm, strikes the back of his right hand on his right knee and the magic rattle on his left knee, all the while moving the upper part of his body backward and forward rattling sounds, like "brrr" and "krrr," are heard uninterruptedly along with his, and in the midst of it his conjurations in a half-sung, half-spoken cadence. Then his motions slow down, and his words are more clearly pronounced, while the eyes of everyone present hang on the shaman's lips, for through him the spirits announce their orders and revelations.

After about ten minutes the chief stops beating the gong, but the shaman continues his actions. His words shape themselves into an order: "The soul of Lü has traveled beyond the clouds; evil spirits are holding it, preventing its return. Sacrifice a pig."

755 782 [231] The eldest son immediately fetches a small pig and puts the sacrificial /183/ animal upon a second bench behind the shaman. Other members of the family hold the animal firmly by the snout. The eldest son cuts its throat, and someone catches the blood spurting from the veins in a bowl. The chief dips spirit-money (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50) into the blood and burns it with the pious words: "Spirits, I offer you my pig. Enjoy eating it and help my son get well!" He then takes the spirit-755 sword (Fig. 55) and with it draws a line on the ground, which clearly includes the place of sacrifice in the altar area and

/183 cont./

•755 separates it from the rest of the room. Then he holds the spirit-sword above the head of the patient. The whole procedure indicates that he is separating the good spirits from the evil ones, so that the good ones may remain within the boundary line, the evil ones outside it. The ailing Lü is also standing within the space of the good spirits.

[252] Meanwhile the eldest son carries the sacrificial animal to the hearth, puts it into readied hot water, he scrapes off the bristles, divides it, puts one half aside as a honorarium for the shaman, and cooks the other half in an iron pot on the hearth. In the meantime, the chief sprinkles ashes over the blood of the sacrificial animal that has been spilled on the ground. Another command from the spirits is given through the shaman. In accordance with it, the eldest son digs a round hole about 20 centimeters deep in the floor of the room with his knife, puts a stone about 12 centimeters in diameter beside it, and lines the hole with four leaves of spirit-money. Before this little pit thus prepared, the patient stations himself behind the shaman with his face turned toward the altar; a leaf of spirit-money has been carefully placed under each of his feet. Chief Tsin Tsai picks up four additional leaves of spirit-money with his right hand, describes a circle in the air around the patient with them, and murmurs his wishes for recovery: "Lü, my son, you are standing here, you shall now feel better again, you shall recover. Your soul is going to have a fine abode in your body and will remain with you. Do not let it go away again." He carefully puts these papers in a pile behind the patient, then adds the two papers on which Lü was standing, arranges everything in layers in the small round hole in the ground, and burns it (Ill. 100). Scarcely have the leaves and the spirit-money crumbled to ashes when he quickly takes the prepared /184/ stone, puts it in the hole, and fills the remaining space with earth which he carefully stamps down, murmuring: "Soul of Lü, go there where the spirit-money lies!" At the same time the patient stands on this spot. Now the chief commands the soul to enter the patient's body and continues: "As the stone is held fast in the hole so shall you, soul, now be held fast in his body. Look, Lü is a good son, stay in his body. You will do well with him, much better than

/184 cont./

755 if you were floating above the clouds pursued by evil spirits. Never leave his body again!"

The patient then sits down in his place. Meanwhile the shaman has imperturbably continued his conjurations. After a quarter of an hour the chief repeats the ceremony with the [782] spirit-paper; then he lights four new incense candles and puts them next to the almost consumed original candles in the vessel on the altar, where the fat-lamp continues to burn. After each action the chief and his eldest son immediately return to their places behind the shaman, who always remains facing the altar. The patient retums to the bench next to the hearth fire. In this way the first hour passes.

At the beginning of the ceremony the occupants of the house conversed with one another freely; now some of them leave the house, the rest remain silent and intently watch the proceedings. Suddenly in the midst of things a Meau woman who does not belong to the community comes and appeals simultaneously to the shaman and the chief: "I am suffering. I have had stomach pains for days. I beg you to help me." Jerkily, the shaman interrupts his conjurations and suddenly answers in a natural voice. He promises to assist the woman the next day and she is to prepare a dog sacrifice. The woman thanks him and leaves the house, and the shaman again begins his rhythmical motions, conjurations, and commands. Suddenly he stops and in his ordinary voice says that evil spirits are approaching. Tsin Tsai and his eldest son quickly step over to the shaman's bench together and hold it firmly, while the chief wife of the chief picks up the gong and beats it uninterruptedly as her husband had done formerly. Jerkily, and for us quite unexpectedly, the shaman jumps on the bench once with both feet simultaneously and then once again, for an /Ill. 30-34 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /185/ evil spirit has crept in among the good ones. [801] Since uneven numbers are regarded as unfavorable and pernicious among the Meau, they are preferred for driving away evil spirits. Accordingly, the chief now takes three handfuls of the prepared maize and rice kernels and scatters them in all directions. His chief wife takes water into her mouth and spits it out in all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON, P. 253]

/185 cont./

755 corners. Then the chief burns the sacrificial money again in order to drive out the evil spirit in this way also.

Another hour passes without anything special happening. During this time the shaman continues his conjurations and rhythmical movements without interruption. Then at last he removes the black cloth from his face and with this the conjura- [787] tions come to an end. He is bathed in sweat. Nevertheless he picks up the oracle horns in order to ascertain whether the ceremony has had the desired result. Next he passes his magic rattle around the light and around the incense candles on the altar and thanks his teacher-spirit and the assistant spirits. With the patient between them, the chief and the eldest son step before the altar, bow to the ground with folded hands, and thank the spirits and the shaman for their help.

[123] I subsequently actually cured the patient with plasmochin and atabrine.

756 Other authors have also mentioned the shaman and his activities according to their own attitudes and the regions visited. Baron von Eickstedt, for instance, impressively describes a ceremony with a shaman, and Savina (1) remarks on this subject:

1. II, p. 257.

[596] "In everyday life the head of the family maintains relations with the world of spirits. Only on solemn occasions are the shamans called in. They are at the same time priests, physicians, ma[illegible]- magicians, soothsayers, and diviners. As priests they appear 756 only at burials and in time of war. When someone dies, the 764 txi neng is called immediately. When he arrives, he dresses the corpse and arranges everything in the house: the time when people are to weep or play the creng (mouth organ) or beat the [782] drum. He also says how many buffalo or cattle are to be slaughtered. He recites before the dead the old traditions about the creation of human beings, death, ascension, /186/ and judgment. When the ceremonies are over, the corpse is put on a bed of state outside. At the moment when the last buffalo is slaughtered, the shaman takes the rope and places it between

/186 cont./

755 789 On the day immediately following the conjuration described, I experienced another instance of the assistance of the shaman in cases of illness. This concerned the sick woman who /187/ had asked the shaman for his help during the conjuration of the soul of Lũ, and therefore it was not a matter of a sacrifice satisfactory to the spirits, but rather the exorcisism of the evil spirit from the house afflicted by sickness, and the creation of a guardian [776] spirit such as has already been discussed (see the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter).

[787] At this spirit-exorcism the beginning of the ceremony was identical with the one of the previous day. While the shaman was in an hour-long trance, the sick woman stood behind him on two spirit-papers, and the chief again burned spirit-money, drew the dividing lines on the ground with the sword, spat water in all directions, and scattered the maize kernels. Suddenly the shaman stopped his twitching and rhythmical movements; his rattling sounds ceased. We learned that the spirit had become too tired [787] to answer and that he would have to be re-awakened. For this purpose the head of the house stepped up to the shaman and struck him on the shoulder. Once more the monotonous conjuration formulas and the twitching of the shaman began. In the meantime, the head of the house tied a string to the young dog to be sacrificed. Then the shaman lighted a straw torch, threw gunpowder into the flames so that they flared up hissingly, spoke accompanying words of conjuration, and walked around the sick woman a few times with the burning torch. He was preceded by the man with the young dog, and at his side walked a young man carrying the gunpowder in an inverted bronze gong. This small procession stepped out of the door and walked around the house several times, while from time to time the shaman threw the proffered gunpowder into the torch (Ill. 102),[1] spat in all directions, murmured prayers, and, whenever the flame hissed up, shouted: "Off with you, evil spirit!" Smoke and stench enveloped the house, which, evidently, was supposed to drive away the evil spirit. The sacrificial animal, however, was led around the house so that the guardian spirit would recognize the area it was to watch. The procession came to a halt. In front of the

[1] [See cat 116, p 704 - ANALYST]

/187 cont./

755 789 entrance to the house the shaman cut the throat of the young dog (Ill. 101)[1] and caught the blood in leaves. With the blood he then drew a cross on the backs of the head of the household and each of the other members and smeared some blood on the door posts. /188/ Finally, he once more threw the oracle horns and burned a quantity of spirit-money as a sacrifice.

[787]

756 787 [776] On another occasion we were able to observe the activity of a female shaman. This involved the invocation of the father-Mother spirit, who, as soon as the rice is ripe, according to the Meau, moves away in order to be ready for the New Year's festival. Now this spirit had supposedly returned and would be asked by the female shaman to bring blessings to the occupants of the house. Outwardly there is little difference from the activity of a male shaman. It was striking to us that the female shaman used not two, but four oracle horns. At this ceremony, too, there was a struggle with evil spirits. Whenever the female shaman in her exertions jumped upon the bench to indicate that an evil spirit was present, the head of the household scattered maize and his wife spat water in the four directions. Despite the fact that everything was carefully observed and care was taken to scatter the kernels and spit out the water in the prescribed way, the evil spirit would not yield. Finally, the head of the household seized the spirit-sword hanging on the wall by the altar and stuck it into the ground in front of the altar. The female shaman had actually fallen into a deep trance and had to be awakened very laboriously by being pounded on the back by the head of the household after the conjuration was over.

756 789 Besides this kind of activity, obviously recognizable as a priestly performance, there falls to the shaman, but not exclusively to him alone, the making of spirit-paper (Ill. 84, 85)[2] and thus spirit-money. Moreover, the shaman is obliged to make certain amulets and talismans, although many other Meau know how to make various such means of protection against the evil spirits. The ingredients are obtained from flowers and plants. Small triangular cloth bags are filled with the mixture. Such amulets are worn on a string around the neck or attached to the silver neck-ring itself.

[1] [See cat 116, P666 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " , P598 - "]

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/201 cont./

A 787 825 "Before a Kaw builds his house, he throws an egg into the air and observes where it falls. He builds his house on this spot. When it is finished, the Kaw scrutinizes the liver of a pig." The same author (4) also made the following observation:

A 313 824 789 4. Page 114.

"When the Kaw have felled a tree, they put a stone on the stump; evidently, they thereby want to relieve themselves of responsibility; the tree spirit should now molest the stone and not the people."

d) Cult and Taboo

M 782 776 Among the Meau, the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, the various teacher-spirits and their assistant spirits, the good spirits in general, as well as the ancestors, have cultic connections. On the other hand, no regular cult is devoted to the evil spirits. M [755] Sacrifices are offered to them only occasionally, chiefly in case of sickness or if one cannot avoid approaching their abodes, for instance, in the jungle.

Sacrifices are offered in order to make the ancestors and the good spirits favorably disposed. For protection against the harmful deeds of the evil spirits, one turns to the good spirit /202/ /Figs. 41-52 appear here/ /203/ whose sphere of interest he fears is being invaded by the evil spirits. If some damage was done to the fields, for instance, one would not turn to the teacher-spirits or the assistant spirits of the smithy.

M 776 789 [778] One tries to protect himself beforehand against the influence of evil spirits through the use of amulets. Among these there are the spirit-swords, carved out of wood, which, provided with simple line drawings made with charcoal, are hung over the entrance of every house in order to prevent the entry of evil spirits (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] M [782] [756] If in spite of all these precautionary measures evil spirits have entered, sacrifices are offered to them, but in addition one tries to exorcise them through the mediation of the shaman with the assistance of the good spirits.

[1] [See cat 116, p 287- ANALYST]

/233 cont./

A M 164 cases. Frambesia occurs occasionally, cholera more frequently. The last epidemic known to me occurred among the Akha in 1933 and brought severe losses with it.

Furthermore all kinds of cold-sicknesses are common, including pneumonia; on the other hand, I could not find any tuberculosis. Lajonquière (2) also reports on the causes of these

2. II. p. 306.

cold-ailments, and Abadie (3) confirms his data:

3. Page 159.

"When the wind blows and on winter evenings sweeps in icy gusts through the poorly closed walls, when the damp air cools A M [513] off to about zero, the whole family presses around the hearth, in which a few pieces of wood glow. All night long they sleep in the ashes, one leaning against the other. This is the time when the aged and the very little ones catch their bad coughs, which follow them to their graves."

/234/ In keeping with the greater dirtiness of the Meau, head lice and body lice are considerably more numerous among them than among the Akha. The Meau also suffer from severe forms of scabies in connection with dermatitis. Caries are likewise common only among the Meau, as is pyorrhea, which I could not find among the Akha.

A M 753 776 M 755 [756] [769] As I have already pointed out in the chapter, "Religion," the section on "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens," some of the illnesses befalling them are traced back by the Akha as well as the Meau to the work of evil spirits. In such cases, the Meau turn first to the ancestors for help, and, if they cannot help, to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit. Then one attempts to drive out the evil spirits with the help of the shaman, who often actually is skilled in medicine, even in our sense. The course of requesting the help of the ancestors and spirits is chosen only in case of sicknesses for which no remedies are known to the Meau, against which they are helpless, and which they regard as dangerous and incurable on the

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Miao AE5

/234 cont./

M 755 [164] basis of their fine gift of observation, experience, and diagnostic talents. This attempted cure through conjuration is thus employed especially in the case of an outbreak of epidemics, such as the plague, and for malaria, amoebic dysentery, cretinism, mental diseases, and so forth. Such observations undoubtedly prompted Savina (1) to make the following remarks:

1. II, p. 259.

M [753] "The Meau regard all sicknesses as punishment from heaven or as an act of revenge on the part of evil spirits. In the first case, the shamans recite prayers in front of an altar. In the second case, they drive the spirits out of the patient and swing swords in doing so. Also, coins in the shape of a cross are sewed on the patient's clothes (on the back). Human figures made of cloth are sewed on the back or the stomach. Paper dolls are pasted on the walls and above the altar."

M 757 [759] [787] Aside from the shamans, some of whom are not unskilled in medicine, there are men among the Meau who fight illness with the help of their medicines. They sometimes also prescribe remedies, according to the results of questioning the oracle about it, but in such cases they let the spirits /235/ make the choice between such medicines which, according to their view, might be useful in the particular case of illness.

M [114] [177] Under these circumstances, the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn (1),

1.Page 172.

who advocates the view that the Meau usually use the medicaments of the Haw (Western Chinese) since they themselves have no knowledge of medicine, is undoubtedly inaccurate.

A 753 782 796 This is much more the case among the Akha, who are much more helpless against sickness than the Meau are. The Akha believe that all sickness is the work of evil spirits and try to protect themselves by means of offerings which are supposed to propitiate the spirits.

39: Bernatzik--664 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947
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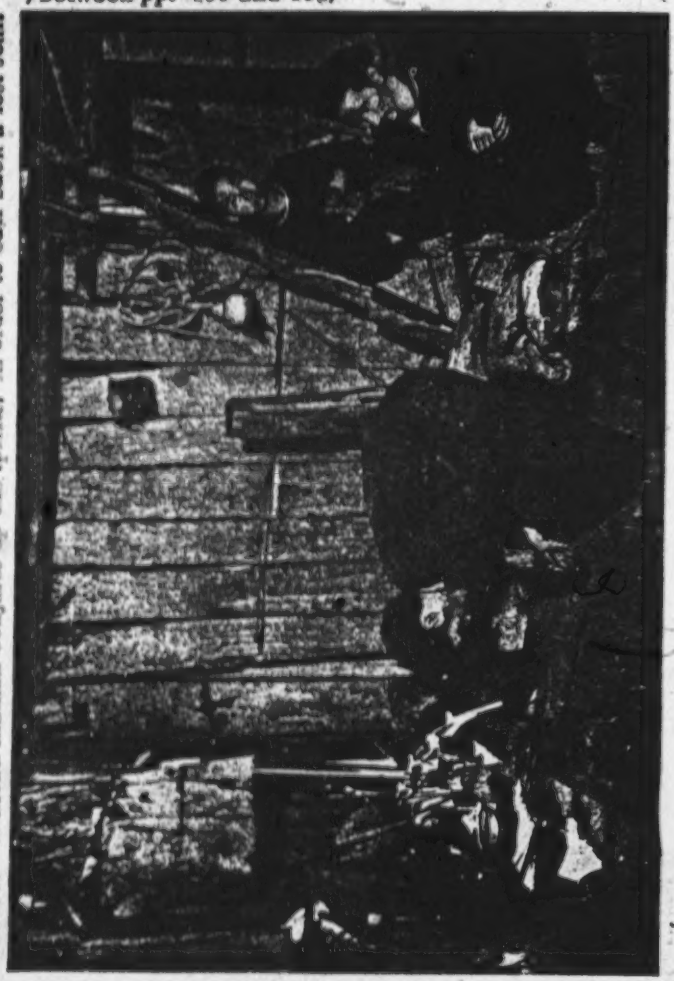

Ill. 99. A Meau shaman conjures up the spirits, in order to call back a lost soul.

39: Bernatzik--665 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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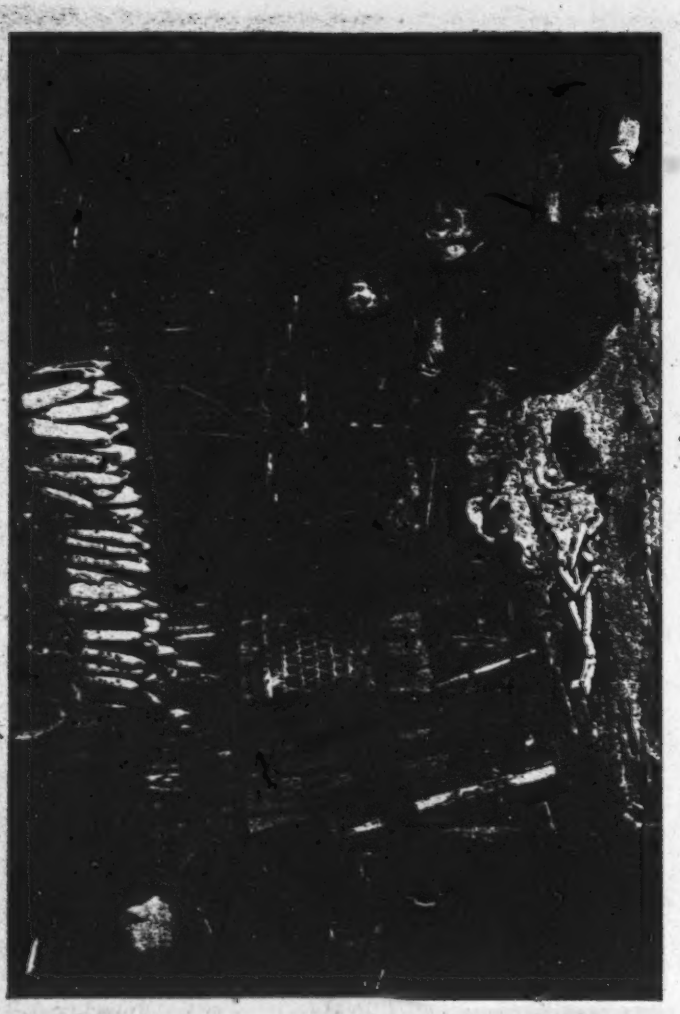

Ill. 100. At the command of the invoked spirits, spirit money is burned in a pit in the floor of the house.

/IX cont./

252 256 the two millstone halves with each other is lengthened or shortened, it is possible to hull the rice or maize kernels or to grind them into coarser or finer flour.

243 [412] Ill. 95. Rice-harvesting knife of the Meau. It consists of a semicircular wooden handle with an inserted metal blade. A string over the back of the hand provides the necessary firmness. The photograph clearly shows how the implement is held. The ears are cut individually, row after row. Because of the manual dexterity of the Meau, the harvesting nevertheless proceeds rapidly.

Ill. 96. Part of the rice is hulled in the field. A hole carved in a felled giant of the primeval forest forms the container. The pestle is fastened to a crosspole and is set in motion when one steps on the shorter lever. The axis of the lever arm is fastened between the upright wooden posts.

Ills. 97-103. Religion and magic.

778 Ill. 97. Sacral sign that the shaman sets up in front of the doors of the houses as a sign of a holiday.

787 Ill. 98. Stick oracle. A number of questions are addressed to the spirits. Each bamboo stick signifies a question. All the sticks are bent in a special manner. The answer of the spirits is signified by the position of the upper edge of the bend.

● 755 787 [756] Ill. 99. Calling back a lost soul. The shaman (left) has thrown oracle horns (the tips of gaur horns) on the ground. Only if these come to rest in a certain way does it mean that the spirits are willing to appear. The magic rattle is on the bench in the foreground. In the background squats the father of the patient, beside whom, on the beam, is the patient, whose soul "has fled beyond the clouds."

[782] Ill. 100. Continuation of the ceremony from Ill. 99. The invoked spirits have given the order to dig a pit in the floor of the house and then to burn spirit-money. The lost soul of the patient is urged to enter the pit. It is then closed with a stone and the soul, it is believed, is caught.